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JPRS-UKO-86-015

8 OCTOBER 1986

# USSR Report

KOMMUNIST

No 8, MAY 1986

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Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semimonthly by the NTIS, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

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8 OCTOBER 1986

USSR REPORT

KOMMUNIST

No 8, May 1986

[Translation of KOMMUNIST, the Russian-language theoretical and political journal of the CPSU Central Committee published in Moscow (18 issues per year).]

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PUBLICATION DATA

English title : KOMMUNIST, No 8  
May 1986

Russian title : KOMMUNIST

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Publishing House : Izdatelstvo "PRAVDA"

Place of Publication : Moscow

Date of Publication : May 1986

Signed to press : 21 May 1986

Copies : 1,049,000

COPYRIGHT : Izdatelstvo TsK KPSS "Pravda",  
"Kommunist", 1986

EDITORIAL -- GREATEST ACHIEVEMENT OF CONTEMPORARY MARXIST-LENINIST THOUGHT.  
ARTICLE 3

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 8, May 86 (signed to press 21 May 86) pp 3-17

[Text] The solution of current long-term, strategic, problems of the comprehensive advancement of socialism and its impact on the course of global processes are determined, in the final account, by the efficiency of the socialist economy. They require the harnessing of all factors for the acceleration of its development. The principal ones are social and political. The intensification of their role raises a number of theoretical and practical problems. The first is that of the full and efficient utilization of the historical accomplishments and advantages of socialism in the interest of the country's accelerated development and the link between the scientific and technical revolution and qualitative reorganizations in the social sphere.

Next is the question of the role which the social sphere plays in the life of socialist society in the new crucial stage and, perhaps, the features of the contemporary social policy of the CPSU and its place in the strategy of acceleration.

Finally, we have the questions of the main directions and trends in the development of the social sphere, the purpose of which is to raise Soviet society to a new qualitative status, and the connection between the strategic tasks of social policy and the interest of classes, social strata and groups, nations, ethnic groups and individuals.

We find expanded answers to these questions in the materials of the 27th CPSU Congress. The major creative contribution made by the party to scientific communism and to the sociopolitical Marxist-Leninist doctrine expresses, in a concentrated manner, above all the idea of a strong, integral and active social policy, inseparably related to the ideas of the socialist self-government by the people and formulates the contemporary approach taken by the party to problems of developing the political system of Soviet society.

#### Integral and Strong Social Policy and Its Humanistic Trend

The most important feature of the resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress is ascribing priority to the development of the social sphere. The decisive turn taken by the planning and management bodies and central and local

organizations to the requirements of this sphere, the deep restructuring of the thinking and mentality of cadres, the efficient social orientation of their entire work and the maximal utilization of reserves and possibilities of creative activity by labor collectives, public organizations and all working people in solving social problems are the party's prime political requirement. This strategic turn was given a comprehensive theoretical substantiation in the concept of accelerating the socioeconomic development of our society and in the new theoretical concepts revealing the content of a strong social policy. This policy is the most important factor of acceleration.

The innovative approach to interpreting the role of the social sphere in the life of socialist society and the ways of its further development are tied to the humanistic principles of Marxist-Leninist outlook and the policy of the Communist Party, which has always been centered on concern for the person. It also proceeds from the dialectical-materialistic understanding of the general laws of the historical process, the study of specific historical features of its current and domestically and internationally crucial stage of development, the lessons of the recent past in building socialism, the vital requirements of the present, the realistic analysis of our possibilities and the scientifically formulated forecasts of the future.

For the first time in history, the socialist revolution opened extensive opportunities for the implementation of the communist programmatic objective, defined by V.I. Lenin as ensuring "the total well-being and free and all-round development of all members of society" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 6, p 232). For the first time in the history of man, his needs have become the target of public production and the development of his creative forces and capabilities, the meaning of social progress.

Having summed up the experience of the USSR and the other socialist countries, the CPSU provided in the new edition of its program an enriched description of socialism as a level of progress of mankind superior to capitalism and having unquestionable socioeconomic, political, ideological and moral advantages. The emphatic sociohumanistic meaning of this theoretical summation, developed in the program's 10 theses, which concretized the Marxist concept of active, real and practical humanism, is of essential importance.

Real humanism means that, guided by the principle of "Everything in the Name of Man and Everything for the Good of Man," socialist society has once and for all put an end to the exploitation of man by man, social oppression, the power of a privileged minority and the poverty and illiteracy of millions of people. In providing the broadest possible opportunities for the dynamic and planned development of production forces, it gave a truly humanistic trend to scientific and technical progress, the practical utilization of the achievements of which does not create unemployment but, conversely, under the conditions of full employment, leads to the steady enhancement of the well-being of the entire people and the development of the constructive forces and capabilities of the working people as the main wealth of society.

In providing the equal right to work and wages, based on the principle "From Each According to His Capabilities and to Each According to His Work," and putting at the disposal of the working people social benefits, such as

housing, free medical services and education, socialism embodies the age-old dream of the humanists of giving man his due according to his own actions, social justice and harmonious relations between the individual and society.

By strengthening the alliance among the working class, kolkhoz peasantry and intelligentsia, socialism lifts the social barriers among people, giving them equal rights and guarantees of their exercise to all social strata and groups. Today the Soviet people are a qualitatively new social and international community, welded by unity of economic interests, ideology and political objectives. Social and national equality, and the establishment and development of true democracy--a power exercised for the people and by the people, the assertion of the socialist way of life, based on the principles of collectivism and comradely mutual aid, which spiritually and morally ennoble man as the creator of new social relations and maker of his own destiny, the rule of a truly humanistic Marxist-Leninist ideology and the accessibility of all sources of knowledge by the masses and their creative involvement with the achievements of socialist and world culture--have all given a real meaning the ideas of freedom, dignity of the individual and human rights, the first of which is the right to life. It is thus that the socialist society has confirmed in practice the possibility of establishing the type of social organization in which the comprehensive development of one is a prerequisite for the comprehensive development of all.

The achievements and advantages of socialism in the social sphere are unquestionable. However, life does not stand still. Our possibilities have broadened and new problems and needs have appeared. The party structures its social policy in accordance with the characteristics and requirements of the present historical moment. The documents of the 27th Congress present such a policy as a powerful means of accelerating the development of the country, the enhancement of the labor and sociopolitical activeness of the masses, the molding of the new man and the assertion of the socialist way of life.

The new view on problems in the social area and its further development, and the new assessment of its growing significance are related in the congress' documents to a deeper and more specific Marxist-Leninist understanding of humanism, consistent with the realities of our dynamic time.

Enhancing the well-being of the working people and creating prerequisites for the all-round development of the individual are today not only a humanistic objective but also a means of promoting the further dynamics of society; they are not something merely desirable but an objective and necessary prerequisite for social progress.

As early as the middle of the 19th century, in analyzing the trend of scientific and technical progress under capitalism, K. Marx reached the conclusion that in addition to the transformation of the production process on the basis of the technological application of science, the role of man in production will inevitably change. In the course of this transformation "it is not the work performed by man himself or the time spent in work, but the appropriation of his own overall production force, his understanding of nature and domination of nature as a result of his being a social organism or, in a word, the development of the social individual, that becomes the main

foundation for production and wealth" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 46, part II, pp 213-214). This makes capitalist production forced to operate in a state of irreconcilable contradictions: on the one hand, bringing to life tremendous social forces--"the forces of science and nature, as well as, precisely, the forces of social combination and social intercourse" (ibid., p 214), cracks the door open for the unlimited growth of human power. On the other, it erects an obstacle to this development, found in the very nature of private-ownership relations.

The contemporary stage of scientific and technical progress entirely confirms this Marxian prediction. The growing application of science, the CPSU program indicates, strengthens the ranks of the working class with skilled workers, which forces the entrepreneurs to think of "investments in man," and of "human capital," by diverting some profits to the social area. This has not changed the nature of capital or made it "humane." Capitalism resolves the new contradictions through its usual means: by improving the living conditions of one group of workers and throwing others out of the enterprises; by concentrating in its centers a tremendous economic and scientific and technical potential, while plundering the "periphery" and increasing the backwardness and poverty in dependent countries which have freed themselves from colonial oppression; by developing some functionally useful qualities in the workers, such as technical knowledge and computer literacy, while deliberately suppressing the aspiration of the working people for humanitarian and political culture, and cultivating the most backward social views. Although the "partial worker," who can perform only routine monotonous operations, is replaced by a better trained worker, this worker remains no more than a small cog in the capitalist production machinery.

Socialist society has never considered man only in functional terms, as a means. Concern for the working person, his well-being and spiritual growth have always been the focal point of party policy. At different historical stages, however, we had different possibilities at our disposal. Enhancing the role of the social sphere is the most urgent and objective requirement of social progress and of the latest stage in the scientific and technical revolution. The need to pay closer attention to social problems is indicated by the lessons of our recent past. The underestimating of the crucial problems of the material base of the sociocultural sphere and the residual principle of the resource allocations for this area, and a certain shortcut taken toward the technocratic approach could not fail to affect the pace of our development, economic growth, the interest of the working people in labor results, discipline and the moral health of society.

The solution of problems accumulated in this area is one of the most important tasks in the strategy of acceleration, for the social sphere covers the interest of classes, social groups, nations and nationalities, relations between society and the individual, working and living conditions, health and recreation. It is precisely here that the party's strategic objectives should meet the vital interests of the people, their hopes and their expectations. Converting the energy of the party's plans into the energy of the practical actions of millions of working people depends, above all, on solving the problems in this area.

A strong social policy is a policy aimed at making profound qualitative changes in the entire social sphere and radically solving crucial problems, rather than introducing minor improvements in it. Its main tasks are the following: steadily upgrading the living and working conditions of the Soviet people, increasing social justice, promoting the further rapprochement among classes and social groups and strata, and perfecting national relations. Such policy presumes major investments in the social sphere, able to yield fast and substantial returns both for the benefit of society as a whole and for its individual members.

The scale of the steps planned by the party to enhance the well-being of the Soviet people is clearly manifested in the following figures: in a 15-year period doubling the amount of resources channeled into meeting the needs of the people, increasing real per capita income by a factor of 1.6-1.8 and seeing to it that by the end of the century every family has its individual housing--apartment or private home.

Solving the problems of the enhancement of the people's well-being on a qualitatively new level presumes profound understanding of the difficult problems to which it is related. Social policy is not the equivalent of philanthropic activities. The party is guided in its implementation not only by love of man but also by profound understanding of the dialectics of labor and consumption, and consumption and production, considered in the broad meaning of the term, as the production of material goods and the production of man himself, in the full reach of his inherent social qualities.

The ways and means of achieving improvements in material and spiritual life and the social consequences of such improvements are not in the least a matter of indifference to us. The party proceeds from the fact that under socialist conditions, as the first phase of the communist socioeconomic system, improving the well-being of the people must be most closely paralleled by tireless control over the measure of labor and consumption, and the strict observance of the socialist principle of social justice: "From Each According to His Capabilities and to Each According to His Work." Both theoretical and practical experience indicate that any violation of this principle inevitably leads to the appearance of private-ownership and consumerist feelings of dependency and other negative phenomena alien to the labor-based nature of our system. This correlation, which is fundamentally substantiated in the theory of scientific socialism, should be most strictly taken into consideration in practical work aimed at improving material incentive, the struggle against unearned income and the faulty practice of equal distribution of income.

A strong social policy, therefore, presumes a direct link between labor contribution and reward and a differentiated approach to solving problems related to wage increases, aimed not only at raising its lower limits but also encouraging highly productive, skilled and creative work. It is only thus that a wage policy can become an efficient means of acceleration of the country's development. This is also the purpose of the social consumption funds. By ensuring identical access to education and culture for the members of society, equalizing child-raising conditions, and facilitating the lives of those who need social assistance, they must also stimulate skilled and conscientious work. "He who does not work does not eat" is a rule the sole

exceptions to which are children, the retired and the disabled. Consequently, the power of the party's social policy resides in its justice. Social justice must include all aspects of socialist social relations and act on all levels of social organization.

The strength of socialism lies in the live creativity of the masses, in the undeviating growth of their social activeness. A strong social policy, therefore, is exercised not only for the people but by the people. The realistic nature of our plans directly depends on the stress and efficiency of the work of every Soviet person, regardless of job or position. "What we accomplish ourselves," M.S. Gorbachev said at the congress, "we shall have and shall live accordingly." This means that the only strong policy is one which shapes a conscious creative attitude toward labor as the prime social duty.

The new, broader and deeper understanding of the nature and role of social policy makes it necessary to take a new look at the interconnection between consumption and production, and take into consideration the profound social functions of consumption. This presumes the elimination of a vulgar concept of consumption as being something unrelated to production, as an area which merely absorbs its results. The mentality of economic managers guided by the residual principle of allocated resources for the development of the social sphere is largely based precisely on this concept: anything that goes into consumption is lost to production. However, when Marxism-Leninism discusses consumption, it always has in mind its dialectical interconnection with production. The consumption of material goods is productive, for it restores and develops the ability to work. Upgrading the material well-being and spiritual standards of the individual must necessarily be related not only to the satisfaction of his needs but also to shaping a qualitatively new ability to work, as required by scientific and technical progress and the acceleration of socioeconomic development. Investments in the social sphere are aimed at the good of man and, in the final account, are investments in production, understood in the broad, Marxist-Leninist, meaning of the term.

Clarifying this truth is one of the most important aspects in shaping a new way of thinking on cadres. It means that we must always bear in mind not only immediate but also long-range social objectives. Our social policy is a long-term policy oriented toward achieving a new qualitative condition in society, correlated to the supreme objectives of the building of communism. The solution of its basic problems is a major step on the way to communism.

The party proceeds in its social policy, as in all of its activities, from the fact that no drastic division can or could exist between socialism and communism, as two phases of the single socioeconomic system. That is why in the social area as well, in solving urgent problems, the party is guided by the communist future, combining the steady observance of the principles characteristic of the first phase with strengthening the general communist principles in the development of the social area.

"From each according to his capabilities" is a general communist requirement, and the party is formulating as of now the development of the capabilities and talents of the working people, including its priority tasks. In the consumption area, it is oriented not only toward satisfying existing needs but

also their enhancement and ensuring the type of standards and structure of consumption, as the CPSU program stipulates, which will be most consistent with the objectives of shaping a harmoniously developed and spiritually rich individual. The general communist principles are also manifested in the collectivistic nature of the socialist way of life, the collectivistic mentality and, naturally, our ideology.

The party ascribes particular importance to intensifying the creative content and collectivistic nature of labor and to enhancing its standards, encouraging highly skilled and highly productive work for the good of society. The significant lowering of the volume of manual labor and, in the future, the elimination of monotonous, heavy physical and unskilled labor, and profound changes in the content of labor, in which the technical reconstruction of the national economy is scheduled to play a basic role--mechanization, automation, computerization and robotization and the creation of a unified system of continuing education--indicates a clear social trend, a line of communist orientation. Its implementation will contribute to the gradual transformation of labor into the prime vital need of every Soviet person.

A technocratic approach to scientific and technical progress is profoundly alien to the communist outlook. We are intensifying production and changing its technological base not at the expense of but for the person; not at the expense of his functional adaptation to technical systems but for the sake of his harmonious development, which enables him increasingly to be in step with and superior to technological progress, as its controller. The new stage of scientific and technical progress gives priority to the universal nature of such a development, the development of the "general forces of the human mind," the active capabilities and technology as the "materialized power of knowledge" which becomes a direct agency of social practice, and of the real life process precisely through the worker (see K. Marx and F. Engels, op. cit., vol 46, part II, pp 214-215). It is this general historical trend that is embodied in the party's social policy.

Therefore, awareness of its deep theoretical foundations presumes the shaping of a new, socially oriented way of thinking by those who work with people professionally, and those who are developing new equipment and technologies. We need technical progress but not at any cost; we need technology oriented toward man and comprehensively promotion and developing his capabilities and talents, an "egocentric," technology, so to say, efficient both economically and socially. That is why modern design and engineering must be multidimensional, comprehensive, taking simultaneously into consideration technical, economic, social, medical-biological and ecological requirements. The large creative collectives must mandatorily include specialists in sociology, engineering psychology, industrial aesthetics, ergonomics, medicine and ecology. Unquestionably, this will be reflected in the forthcoming restructuring of higher and secondary specialized education.

The technical reconstruction of the national economy, radical increase in labor productivity and economic efficiency as a whole will inevitably result in the future in less working and more leisure time. Therefore the problems of the content and social purpose of leisure time will assume increasing theoretical and practical significance. The importance of this problem was



emphasized at the 27th CPSU Congress.

Naturally, leisure time should be used to restore the ability to work and for recreation. Therefore, the creation of qualitatively new conditions for the recreation of the working people, the reorganization of daily life and services and facilitating household work are the most important but not the only trends in the party's social policy. In addition to increased production efficiency, the role of leisure time will increase as a prerequisite for the development of the person and his creative capabilities. The question of saturating leisure time with serious social and personally important content, as the congress' documents stipulate, must always be in the focal point of attention of all party, soviet and public organizations. This is especially important in efficiently solving the social problems of young people, as was particularly emphasized in the new edition of the CPSU program. Labor, life, education, culture, and professional and job growth must serve the development and fuller satisfaction of socially significant interests and needs of boys and girls and the sensible utilization of their leisure time. Bearing in mind the long-term future, the party relies in its policy on the familiar theoretical Marxist concept of leisure time as the measure of social wealth in a communist society.

The party's social policy is multidimensional. It covers all facets of the socialist way of life and takes into consideration the interests of all population categories and the variety of needs. The full satisfaction of the growing population demand for high-quality of varied consumer goods, the further development of trade and public catering, and the development of a modern highly efficient service industry are an inseparable prime element in upgrading the well-being and living conditions of the Soviet people. Accelerating the solution of the housing problem, developing health care, physical culture and sports, increasing concern for the family, improving the situation of mothers and war and labor veterans and the disabled, and the upbringing and education of children and their health are the most important components of a strong social policy, comprehensively ensuring the real implementation of humanistic ideals, values and standards.

Maintaining harmonious relations between society and nature is also exceptionally essential. The 27th CPSU Congress paid most serious attention to this problem and formulated resolutions leading to far-reaching theoretical and political conclusions. Environmental protection, a concerned attitude toward the land and the soil, lakes, rivers and the vegetable and animal world are some of the components of a strong social policy. The preservations and, subsequently, increase in the production forces of nature itself means fulfilling one's duty to later generations, to history. The latest technical achievements, low-waste and wasteless technologies, which are mandatory requirements in the new technical reconstruction of the national economy, will serve the protection of nature and the restoration of its strength. Our party has paid great attention to ecological problems in the past as well. Never before, however, has it formulated them so urgently and, above all, on such a priority basis as it did at the 27th CPSU Congress.

In speaking of a strong social policy and its humanistic trend, let us particularly emphasize that it is implemented through the activities of the broad masses who are becoming involved in the process of acceleration. The slogan "The Life Creativity of the Masses Is a Decisive Force of Acceleration!" formulates the most important law of the current stage in the development of socialism. This is a comprehensive formula which sums up our historical experience and concretizes the familiar Marxist thought that together with a substantive historical action, the number of people whose accomplishment this will be will grow as well. The acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development is a matter for the people's masses themselves, in the course of which it is enriched by new aspects and social relations.

### Socioclass and National Relations

The social policy of the CPSU is a class-oriented policy also in the sense that it reflects the viewpoint of the leading force in socialist society--the working class, with its basic interests and social ideals, shared by all working people--and the fact that its objective is the situation of large groups of people--classes, social strata and nations--and their interrelationships.

The party analyzes the problem of interrelationships among classes and social groups by thoroughly taking into consideration in its activities their common interests and specific features, and ensuring a strong unity within society.

The Central Committee political report to the congress formulates the major theoretical problem of tremendous political significance: strengthening unity within Soviet society. The solution of this problem is related to the strict implementation of the principle of social justice, which is a major prerequisite for the political stability of society and its dynamic development. The principle of social justice presumes not only taking into consideration differences among people on the level of differences in their labor contribution, which depends on their physical and spiritual capabilities, but social equality as well. In a socialist society social equality means equality of real rights and opportunities for the people to develop the entire variety of their natural gifts with the help of society and its social institutions, and in the social interest. Bringing to light the dialectics of social justice is one of the most important accomplishments of contemporary party theoretical thinking.

The communist ideal is not unity deprived of variety or variety excluding unity but precisely the unity of variety. "The unity of socialist society, however, does not mean at all any equalization of social life. Socialism develops the entire variety of interests, needs and abilities of the people, actively supporting the activities of social organizations which express this variety. Furthermore, socialism needs such variety, as a necessary prerequisite for the further enhancement of the creative activeness of the people, their initiative, and competition among minds and talents, without which a socialist way of life or any kind of progress would be generally inconceivable." The consideration of this most important theoretical concept,

developed in the Central Committee Political Report to the CPSU Congress is a key prerequisite for the ability to think and work in a new way.

Another major theoretical and political problem formulated by the congress--the rapprochement among classes and social groups in Soviet society--is related to the dialectics of the unity of socialist society and social differences. The party program's stipulation that the elimination of the major disparities between the working class and the peasantry and the establishment of a classless society in our country will take place basically within the historical framework of the first, the socialist phase of the communist system, is of essential importance in this case.

This conclusion is based on the consideration of an important law of development of social relations at the present stage: the rapprochement among the working class, kolkhoz peasantry and intelligentsia, with the decisive role played by the working class in this process. The strengthening of their alliance is the cornerstone of CPSU policy. "It is precisely here," the congress said, "that we can concentrate our forces for the accelerated solution of the economic and social problems we are formulating today."

The social aspect of social classes and strata will continue to change along with the comprehensive advancement of socialism and its accelerated development. The development of scientific and technical progress, the trends of the scientific and technical revolution, as embodied in the personality of the contemporary worker, and profound changes in the area of labor, the increased general education, cultural and professional standards and greater labor and social activeness will enhance the vanguard role of the working class, which unites the entire society.

The growth of agricultural labor into a variety of industrial work and the elimination of major disparities between town and country will proceed at an increasing pace with the implementation of the party's agrarian policy.

The share of intellectual work in the activities of the broadest possible masses of workers and kolkhoz members will increase and so will the size of the intelligentsia and its creative contribution to material production and other areas of social life in the course of revolutionary changes in production forces. It is on this basis that the gradual elimination of major disparities between physical and mental work will take place together with the rapprochement among all social groups. This process will be completed with the creation of a socially homogeneous society in the higher communist phase.

What is the profound sociohumanistic meaning of these essential theoretical concepts of the Central Committee political report, the new edition of the CPSU program and the other congress documents?

Social disparities inevitably limit man's possibility of attaining his social potential and cultivating all active capabilities which are the product of the social development of society as a whole and the possibility of mastering social experience by all social classes and strata. In addition to the elimination of major disparities among them, social exchange and reciprocal enrichment of activities among them will become increasingly active, so that

man will increasingly become the product of the activities of the entire society and will acquire the possibility of developing those aspects of his personality, capabilities and talents which previously belonged only to the working class, the peasantry or the intelligentsia.

This is also the purpose of the rapprochement among nations and nationality, inseparably related to their further blossoming. The national problem, inherited from the past, was successfully solved by the USSR. This voluntary rapprochement is an objective natural-historical process. The party cautions against any attempts at its artificial encouragement or restraining. In the future it must lead to total national unity.

On the way to this objective, however, a number of difficult problems must be solved, as indicated by the 27th CPSU Congress. One of them is to increase the contribution of all republics to the development of the single national economic complex, consistent with their increased economic and spiritual potential. To do this means to act in accordance with the principle of social justice. Other problems remain, related to still extant aspirations for national exclusivity, parochialism and feelings of dependence. Differences also exist among nations in terms of employment, social structure and demography. The processes taking place in this area require scientific control. As the congress emphasized, particular delicacy and caution, combined with a principle-minded struggle against any manifestations of nationalism, chauvinism and religious prejudices, are needed. A clear distinction exists between real problems in national relations and their nationalistic interpretation. Anything which harms the blossoming and reciprocal enrichment of nations, their fraternal cooperation and the powerful process of internationalization of social life and anything which limits the possibilities of progress is against the true national interest.

The party's social policy is aimed at widening the social space for the development of the individual, so that society may acquire an even more powerful impetus for the acceleration of its progress. The rapprochement among classes and strata in Soviet society and among nations and nationalities is a social mechanism not only of simple addition or multiplication but, precisely, of integration of their forces. This is the higher mathematics of the policy of the Communist Party and the Soviet state, a policy of accelerating social progress.

#### Political System--Democracy--Self-Government: New Problems and Solutions

Developing the Soviet political system plays a special role among the problems of perfecting socialism, as formulated at the 27th CPSU Congress. Today, when the role of the subjective factor is enhanced and the possibility of purposefully influencing socioeconomic processes in the interest of society increases, the efficient functioning of all social institutions and the broadening and intensification of democracy assume a tremendous role.

The theoretical concepts of socialist democracy and the role of the party and the state occupy one of the leading positions in Marxist-Leninist theory. The materials of the 27th CPSU Congress confirm the creative development of the ideas of Marx, Engels and V.I. Lenin in terms of contemporary conditions. The

problem of perfecting the political system is considered by the party in the context of accelerated economic and social progress, in which the further development of socialist self-government by the people must play the decisive role. "The CPSU believes," the new edition of the party program points out, "that at the contemporary stage the strategic line in the development of the political system of society is perfecting Soviet democracy and ensuring the increasing socialist self-government of the people on the basis of the active and efficient participation of the working people and their collectives and organizations in solving problems of governmental and social life."

Socialist self-government is distinct from communist self-government above all because it takes place under the conditions of the existence and strengthening of the state, the role of which increases, rather than diminishes, under socialism. Along with the strengthening of socialist statehood and perfecting the work of the state apparatus, which is based on the increased complexity of the problems which face the state, a process of expansion and intensification of democracy and of perfecting its representative bodies takes place. Under these circumstances, the party addresses itself, on a new basis, to the concept of self-government as applicable to the first phase of the communist system, socialism. This is a major contribution to Marxist-Leninist theory and to understanding the development of the socialist political system.

The political system of developed socialist society is a system of state and public organizations, labor collectives and other political institutions which, guided by the party, in a state of unity and interaction, practice democracy and people's socialist self-government. It is important to emphasize that it is a question not simply of a mechanical "collection" of elements, such as organizations, institutions, etc., but precisely of a system whose units are closely interacting and are reciprocally supplementary; as they solve their specific problems they also implement general social objectives, as instruments of the people's self-government.

Representative and direct democracy play a key role in the ways and means of popular rule. The representative power bodies--the soviets--which today number more than 2.3 million people's deputies, and a multimillion-strong aktiv, play a determining role in the system of state bodies. It is exceptionally important for each soviet and every deputy to make daily and full use of their constitutional rights, for the role of the collective power bodies and deputies to be enhanced and for the control of the machinery by the people and their representatives to be efficiently ensured.

The time-tested forms of direct democracy--nationwide discussions of most important party and state decisions and draft laws, production conferences, general meetings of labor collectives, and rural rallies, at which vital problems of national or local significance are solved, and the variety of social initiatives of citizens, are assuming today increasing importance.

The dialectical combination of the broadening of the democratic nature of the political system with the need to ensure a high level of organization of the state apparatus, based on the principles of democratic centralism, one-man command, the mandatory nature of decisions of superior authorities, appointments to official duties, etc., is one of the most important features

of the political system. Under contemporary conditions, greater professionalism is needed in state administration; the role of organizational-technical management factors increases. At the same time, making decisions and controlling their execution, and supervising the work of employees on all management levels are based on the opinion and political activeness of the working people, who exercise their political rights either directly or through their representatives. The dialectical process of development and strengthening of statehood and, at the same time, broadening the participation of the working people in management will increase as our society advances toward communism. It is pertinent to emphasize in this connection that the groundlessness of the simplistic interpretation of self-government was pointed out at the December 1984 all-union practical-science conference: in some cases it was related to the activities of separate nuclei within socialist society (production or territorial); in others, it was pitted against other statements and, in others again, postponed until the advent of the higher phase of communism. The CPSU Central Committee political report to the party congress stipulates that self-government principles are developed not outside but within our statehood, increasingly penetrating all the pores of state and social life, enriching the content of democratic centralism and strengthening its socialist nature.

The fact that the Communist Party is the leading and guiding force of the entire society and the nucleus of the socialist political system is a major feature of socialist self-government. It is made of the most advanced and conscious segment of the working class, kolkhoz peasantry and intelligentsia. Having reached unparalleled depth and power of influence on social development, and remaining, in terms of its class nature and ideology, the party of the working class, the CPSU has become the party of the whole people. It considers serving the people to be the entire point of its activities. Structured on the principles of democratic centralism, the new edition of the program stipulates, the party "deems it its duty constantly to seek the advice of the working people on the most important problems of domestic and foreign policy. It takes public opinion closely into consideration and draws nonparty people into participating in the work of party organizations. The more actively it is supported by the people, the greater becomes the party's influence on the course of social development."

The development and strengthening of the Soviet socialist state and the increasing manifestation of its democratic nationwide nature and creative and constructive role are key problems of party policy. This applies, above all, to the main link of socialist popular rule--the soviets of people's deputies--from top to bottom.

As the representative power body, the soviets must ensure the broadest possible participation of the working people in government. "...Every representative of the masses, every citizen," Lenin pointed out, "must be placed in circumstances enabling him to participate in the discussion of the laws of the state, the choice of his representatives and the implementation of state laws" (op. cit., vol 36, p 157). It is precisely these conditions that structure the system of soviet bodies, which not only exercise the state power within their territory but also rally and head the people's self-government on all levels.

The soviets are the type of power bodies which provide the management of state, economic and sociocultural building on the scale of their territory. Their activities are the embodiment of the Marxist-Leninist stipulation of the supremacy of representative bodies in the socialist state and the Leninist ideas of the total power of the soviets. The materials of the 27th CPSU Congress aim at the fuller and more consistent implementation of these concepts. The new edition of the CPSU program stipulates that the party will steadily assist the USSR Supreme Soviet and the republics' supreme soviets systematically to perfect legislation, efficiently solve key problems of domestic and foreign policy, actively guide the work of the soviets of people's deputies, and check the work of bodies accountable to them. The role and responsibilities of the local soviets will continue to increase in ensuring the comprehensive economic and social development of the areas, the independent solution of problems of local importance and the coordination and control of activities of organizations located on their territory.

Many major shortcomings remain in the activities of soviets. This also applies to the content and forms of their work. In critically assessing these shortcomings, the 27th Party Congress called for creating conditions for the strict observance of the Leninist instructions concerning the soviets as bodies which not only make decisions but organize their implementation and supervise their execution.

The 27th CPSU Congress adopted a line of democratization of management and formulation and adoption of governmental decisions which ensure the choice of the optimal variant, and of taking into consideration and comparing the various views and suggestions of the working people. The range of problems, the solution of which can be made only after their discussion by labor collectives, the permanent commissions of soviets, and the trade union, the Komsomol and other social organizations, will be broadened. The most important bills and decisions will continue to be submitted to nationwide discussions and vote. The summation and implementation of voters' instructions and citizens' petitions and suggestions, the study of public opinion, the enhancement of the level of information of the population concerning decisions and results of their implementation will be perfected.

The solution of these problems presumes the improvement of legal standards which regulate relations in such areas and ensuring the efficiency in their organization. This, however, is not enough. It is also important to create and maintain a proper moral and psychological climate, keep up the interest of the working people in participating in governmental affairs and the confidence of everyone that his opinion and the viewpoint of the collective in which he works may have a real influence on governmental policy. More than ever before, today we must surmount social passiveness, nihilism, conformism and apathy--anything created by a formal attitude toward democratic institutions, withdrawal from the principle of democratic centralism and replacing the voice of the public with arbitrary decisions by leading bodies.

The perfecting of socialist democracy also presumes the further strengthening of the legal foundations of governmental and social life. In the congress' documents this task is formulated broadly as the systematic development of legislation, increased responsibility of law-enforcement bodies and the legal

and moral upbringing of the population. This idea of the congress creatively develops Lenin's concepts of the significance of firm laws under socialism and the inseparable connection and unity between legality and democracy.

The labor collectives, which have been granted extensive rights in solving a broad range of economic, social and political problems by the USSR Constitution and the Law on Labor Collectives, play a particular role in the political system of socialist society. Unfortunately, so far the law has largely remained on paper. This is due to several reasons: the working people's poor knowledge of the law; lack of information on the plans of one's enterprise, the decisions passed by local soviets and the individual's rights; the power of inertia, in which the administration has the last word in solving most problems of the collective's life. Furthermore, from the very beginning, no objective conditions were provided which would enable the collective to exercise its rights: the law was not reinforced by the necessary broadening of enterprise rights. Occasionally, the collective has simply nothing to solve, for all major problems have already been solved "from above."

This situation was sharply criticized in the CPSU Central Committee political report and the delegates' speeches. "The conclusion is simple," M.S. Gorbachev said. "We must radically improve the mechanism which will enable us to convert the democratic principles and standards of the law into daily practice. Step by step we must broaden the range of problems on which the decision of the labor collective is final, and enhance the role of the general meetings of workers and employees and responsibility for the implementation of their decisions." It was suggested to set up a labor collective council to operate between general meetings, not only in brigades but also on the enterprise level, consisting of representatives of the administration, the party, trade union and Komsomol organizations, the brigade councils, workers and specialists. The elective principle for appointing managers on different production levels will be practiced more extensively.

The development of the labor and social activeness of the citizens, the enhancement of management efficiency, expanding democracy and protecting the rights and freedoms of the individual greatly depend on the activities of the trade unions, which play an important role in the political system of Soviet society. The trade unions must assist in increasing the people's wealth and to improving the people's working, living and recreational conditions; they must protect the people's rights and interests, and be always concerned with the communist upbringing of the masses. They must involve them in the management of production and social affairs, and strengthen conscious labor discipline. The trade union organizations must actively influence the development of socialist self-government of the people, ensure close interaction with the soviets and other organizations of the working people on matters of governmental economic and cultural building and the development of social forms of supervising the observance of the principle of social justice.

Problems of the role of the trade unions in a socialist society have always been considered among the most important and, sometimes, crucial problems, both in theory and in practice. On this matter, the 27th CPSU Congress asserted the party's loyalty to the Leninist concept of the role of the trade unions as schools of administration, economic management and communism. In



the socialist political system the purpose the trade unions is to defend the interests of the working people against "unnecessary zeal" on the part of administrations and, at the same time, to mobilize them for the implementation of production plans and upgrading labor productivity. The properly understood role of the trade unions has a great potential for the development of socialist self-government. The congress indicated the need to enhance the activities of Komsomol and other public organizations, such as creative associations, scientific, cultural and other voluntary societies and agencies of the population's social activities. All such elements within the political system rally the people on the basis of various features and express the specific age, professional and cultural interests of the various social groups. Each one of these elements allows the citizens to display their social activeness in one area of social life or another in their own way.

The socialist political system, which encompasses all social strata, was not only created for the sake of the people and for the sake of its interests; it is also an organization of the people's social activities, for it can effectively operate only with the active participation of the broad toiling masses. This, as the saying goes, represents two sides of a single coin. The violation of the inseparable unity between these sides could trigger bureaucratic distortions in the work of state bodies and reduce or even hinder the social activeness of the masses and create favorable grounds for moods of dependency. It is no secret that for a number of years the creative initiative of a certain segment of the working people was confined them to a narrow circle of limited interests, could be noted. This was due to many reasons which were openly discussed at the congress. Not the least among them was a certain underestimating of the socialist political system as a system of people's self-government and as an organization expressing their creativity.

At the present responsible stage in our development, the party formulates and enriches the concept of socialist self-government by the people, the further development of which becomes one of the most important theoretical and practical problems. We must also consider the way the system of socialist self-government by the people develops into communist social self-government, which is the superior form of social organization. A great deal remains to be done on the way to reaching this objective. Naturally, errors and blunders are possible in the daily search for optimal solutions of most difficult problems. They must be acknowledged and corrected promptly. The main thing, however, is the creative search for the new, for that which will enable us more fully to implement the principles of socialist democracy and self-government, which are the great levers for hastening the progress of socialism, enabling it to attain a new qualitative status closer to communism.

This sharply enhances the significance of problems of ideological education, learning, science and culture. What new features are introduced by the documents of the 27th CPSU Congress in their formulation and solution? Answers to these questions will be provided in the next installment.

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## STRATEGY OF ACCELERATION: THEORY AND PRACTICE

### SOVIETS AND TERRITORIAL RESERVES OF ACCELERATION

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 8, May 86 (signed to press 21 May 86) pp 18-27

[Article by Dr of Economic Sciences L. Zlomanov and Dr of Economic Sciences V. Lyubovnyy]

[Text] The intensified territorial approach to planning and management stands out among the main trends in the reorganization of the economic mechanism, formulated at the 27th CPSU Congress. The activities of the soviets of people's deputies--republic, oblast, city and rayon above all--are related precisely to territorial management. Historically, the situation was such that for a long time the country's economy developed under the conditions of the dominant role of sectorial principles. Territorial management held and still holds secondary positions. In terms of the functions of sectorial ministries and departments, on the one hand, and soviet bodies, on the other, a "sectorial preference" is clearly visible. This is inconsistent with the increased significance of territorial factors and hinders the country's development. The need to intensify the effect of the territorial management system on socioeconomic processes is based, first of all, on the need for the more efficient utilization of material and manpower resources on a territorial basis and, secondly, on the territorial nature of the production and social infrastructures and all areas of population services, i.e., on all that contributes to eliminating narrow-departmental hindrances in the individual areas in the interest of production and the population. The enhanced role of the soviets in managing expanded reproduction is also a reflection of the need to increase national property and to perfect social relations by increasing the economic rights of the people and enhancing the real economic results of the activities of the main unit of the people's socialist self-government.

The congress' resolution on the CPSU Central Committee political report notes the need to formulate in the immediate future steps aimed at strengthening the autonomy and responsibility of soviets and to develop the mechanism of their interaction with enterprises and organizations under superior jurisdiction.

The implementation of the most important constitutional obligation of any soviet is to ensure the comprehensive economic and social development of its territory. This presumes, above all, organizing the most efficient utilization of material and manpower resources in the kray, oblast, city or rayon and increasing their real contribution to the intensification and enhanced efficiency of the production process.

A major practical step which ensures the efficient utilization of all resources in solving the problem of the Food Program was the organization of a system of state management bodies of the agroindustrial complex, essentially structured on the basis of the territorial principle. Delegates to the party congress noted the exceptional relevance of the stipulations contained in the political report on the need to broaden the rights of republic and local bodies, in the example of the agroprom, in managing the construction, intersectorial production facilities and the social and production infrastructure of many enterprises producing consumer goods.

In the last decade, because of shortcomings in material and technical supplies and poor procurement discipline, the trend of "naturalizing" the economy intensified in ministries and enterprises. Many ministries set up a large number of enterprises of a strictly territorial nature. This applied to automotive transportation, construction organizations and enterprises producing construction materials and structures, power generating projects, etc. In many cases specialized enterprises set up various production facilities of general economic significance. For example, the role of individual departments has increased in the separate construction of housing, children's preschool institutions and recreation, treatment and tourism establishments (unrelated to the general concerns and interests of the territory). On the one hand, all of this complicates the comprehensive economic and social development of oblasts, cities and rayons and creates unjustified regional differentiation in terms of living standards; on the other, it is a major hindrance to national economic intensification.

Another important consequence of economic "naturalization" is the following: as a result of departmental lack of coordination in the procurement of timber and construction materials and the production of reinforced concrete structures and other construction items, criss-crossing, repeated and other inefficient haulage by rail, which are major reasons for the system's overload, are increasing with every passing year.

From our viewpoint, one of the main tools for surmounting such negative phenomena (in addition to the further establishment of complexes of interrelated sectors) could be intersectorial and interdepartmental cooperation, within specific territorial limits, organized with the active participation of the soviets. Its trends and scales will vary on the individual territorial levels. The strengthening of efficient intersectorial relations becomes particularly topical and objectively possible by granting the enterprises great autonomy, when a number of problems of their development can be solved more efficiently not within the framework of their own department but on a territorial basis--in close cooperation with other enterprises and organizations dealing with the same problems within a large economic rayon and, in other cases, within the oblast or city. Domestic and foreign experience confirms the variety and efficiency of intersectorial interaction. Those which have earned broad recognition include "territorial rationalization" in the GDR, the Poti experiment in Georgia, the "Intensification-90" territorial-sectorial program in Leningrad, and others.

By systematizing the already known and other possible forms of such cooperation, in the case of industry we could include aid to small and medium-

sized enterprises in reconstruction and technical retooling, and the creation of intersectorial enterprises, including those engaged in the production of minor mechanization facilities; reciprocal lending to other enterprises intermittently used equipment; joint purchasing of new equipment also used intermittently; joint production of new types of commodities; patent-information services; and the creation of urban industrial centers.

In the area of scientific services this means setting up firms for the application of new technological developments and techniques, etc.; developing unique means of research and experimentation; joint purchases of equipment; creation of consolidated scientific (and, on some occasions, scientific-VUZ) centers with joint facilities; and the creation of "application areas," which are systems of experimental-production enterprises located around a scientific center offering the possibility of quickly developing and mastering the production technology for the manufacturing of new goods.

Other types of economic cooperation include shaping and developing the production infrastructure. Regardless of departmental affiliation, interested organizations may combine their resources in taking steps related to environmental protection, recultivation of the land, etc. Also possible is the organization of specialized territorial enterprises and organizations to manage roads, power projects, water supply and sewer systems, etc.

No less urgent today is the problem of the efficient utilization of recycled resources. The example of the Ukraine, where the use of secondary resources and waste is twice the overall union average, proves that significant results are possible through cooperation among different enterprises in improving the efficient utilization of raw, including recycled, materials.

Under the conditions of the steady increase in the need for territorial resources by industry and the population and their increasingly scarce nature, the local authorities and management bodies must supervise their sensible utilization from the viewpoint of national interests.

Therefore, the extensive development of territorial cooperation will enable us to free sectorial ministries and enterprises and let them concentrate on the acceleration of scientific and technical progress, and improving production quality in accordance with the requirements of economic intensification.

As was pointed out at the 27th Congress, the structural reorganization of the economy becomes a major factor in accelerating socioeconomic development. Major results are also possible by perfecting the territorial structure of the national economy of the country as a whole and of individual union republics, economic rayons, oblasts and cities. They develop their own reproduction processes which are completed through the unified national economic complex.

However, such processes are frequently uncontrolled, and the economic specialization of an area or city is not optimal from the viewpoint of the national division of labor or local socioeconomic, natural and other features.

Let us take the largest cities as an example. As was pointed out at the conference held by the CPSU Central Committee on the acceleration of scientific and technical progress, in addition to Moscow and Leningrad we should count on the major contribution in resolving the problems formulated by the party of industrial centers, such as Sverdlovsk, Kharkov, Novosibirsk, Donetsk, Omsk and Gorkiy. However, these requirements can be met only if the economic structure of such cities is "targeted" at implementing their set assignments. This means that with extremely limited urban resources a choice of priorities in the development of the economic base of the cities must be formulated and rigidly implemented. The cities must abandon or reorganize projects inconsistent with their functions.

Actually, considering the existence of powerful scientific and industrial centers, such as Moscow and Leningrad, it would be hardly suitable for a considerable percentage of labor resources, including highly skilled specialists, urban land, freight haulage, fuel and other resources to be related to the further increase in the production of material-intensive mass manufactured goods. The situation is further worsened by the fact that on the territory of virtually all large cities there are dozens and hundreds of small enterprises and organizations of the same type, by no means of optimal dimensions, operated by various departments, such as automotive enterprises, construction organizations, warehouses, repair services, etc. Moscow, for example, has about 1,000 small departmental automotive enterprises with less than 10 vehicles each. Here productivity per departmental vehicle is much lower than at Glavmosavtotrans, which is a specialized organization.

The overcrowding of the largest centers with production facilities and types of activities inconsistent with the role and possibilities of such centers within the national economic system, and the resulting scarcity of necessary resources for developing the latest production facilities, extremely restrict their contribution to the acceleration of scientific and technical progress. On the other hand, excessive concentration of production forces in the large cities not only creates difficult problems because of the uncontrollable nature of their population growth but also restrains the economic and social development of many small urban settlements.

Under these circumstances, perfecting the economic structure is one of the main levers of economic intensification. It must be paralleled by the strict inventory taking of all projects located within each area, the elimination of departmental barriers, the consolidation of similar enterprises and the efficient specialization of their activities aimed at meeting the needs of the entire region. This would yield a variety of economic and social results.

At this stage, considering the increasing limitations in the use of extensive factors of economic development, the problem of the thrifty and sensible attitude toward multipurpose territorial resources, including the protection and reproduction of national resources, becomes particularly important.

By balancing demand for various resources among the various economic projects, the soviets and their bodies are already now substantially influencing the increased efficiency of public production. Nevertheless, with national economic intensification a new feature appears in the way local resources are

used: resource limitations must be compensated by ensuring their most efficient utilization.

We know that one of the crucial problems today is cadre availability. The soviets pay great attention to observing the limits set jointly with the ministries on the number of workers and employees. Today this is an exceptionally important task. However, as the practice of introducing basic order in labor and production discipline and applying cost accounting in brigades instead of hiring additional manpower indicates, in a number of cases it becomes possible to do the same amount of work with fewer people. This possibility will become reality after all enterprises have converted to true cost accounting, return on capital and self-financing.

Today ensuring the efficient employment of the active population in accordance with the reduced need for workers at some enterprises and the increased need at others, including in the nonproduction area becomes the prime concern of the city soviet. In order to achieve this, the soviet must have full data on job certifications, estimates of future job openings, and the possibility of influencing the faster elimination of undermechanized types of work, primarily through economic rather than exclusively administrative methods. The point is that no one can do this better than the local soviet and its bodies, for manpower has an essentially territorial affiliation. The enterprises must continue to coordinate with the executive committees of the soviets their need for more workers and employees. However, to begin with, violations of agreements reached with enterprises have virtually no consequences; secondly, the efficiency of such enterprises remains low, even though they must already concern themselves with the problem of future manpower reductions, the growing demand for people to fill the new jobs and the need to organize the timely retraining of the working personnel.

This requires work on the scale of the city or rayon in vocational guidance and professional choice of secondary school graduates, the creation and improvement of the network of vocational and technical schools and of secondary and, in some cases, even higher educational institutions. The solution of such problems on the territorial level, in close interaction with enterprises and organizations, would make possible the more efficient utilization of available manpower and material and financial resources in developing the necessary set of cadre training and retraining institutions.

Making profound changes in the material and spiritual living conditions of the people and ensuring a qualitatively new standard of national well-being with the systematic implementation of the socialist principle "from each according to his capabilities and to each according to his work" are among the most important programmatic stipulations and tasks of the party and the state. Environmental protection, construction, production of consumer goods and sociocultural, consumer and other population services are areas in which the local soviets have constitutional rights in coordinating and controlling the activities of enterprises and organizations under superior jurisdiction.

The main purpose of such coordination and control is to avoid a gap or disproportion in the development of production and in the entire area of population services.

The CPSU Central Committee political report noted that the lessons of the past demand greater attention to social progress: "The Central Committee believes that crucial problems of material facilities in the sociocultural area throughout the country were underestimated by the central and local authorities." The residual principle of allocating resources for the solution of social problems, shortcuts involving technocratic approaches, and departmental neglect of problems of social development invariably influence increased cadre turnover, lower labor productivity and production efficiency as a whole and worsen the sociodemographic situation in the city or rayon. For example, the underestimating of the need for building facilities for the social infrastructure at Ekibastuz by the USSR Ministry of Power and Electrification, resulted in high cadre turnover (30 percent annually), shortage of skilled personnel and, consequently, breakdowns and idling at the GRES-1, which led to a shortfall of about 20 billion kilowatt hours.

In speaking of Siberia's development, M.S. Gorbachev stressed that unless this vast area becomes a comfortable living place, all of our production plans will remain on paper only. This applies to any other part of the country.

Unfortunately, the number of cases of such discoordination, in which housing construction falls behind the increased number of people employed at enterprises in a settlement or city, while the development of stores and population service enterprises and establishments lags behind housing construction, although declining, remains significant.

One of the reasons for this negative phenomenon is the imperfect procedure for the allocation of materials and funds for the development of the social infrastructure. Another is shortcomings in planning the work of enterprises producing consumer goods or providing consumer services, due to the fact that the plans poorly reflect actual solvent demand.

The resources needed for the development of the social infrastructure come from centralized sources and from enterprise and organization funds. The documents of the 27th CPSU Congress stipulate that as their economic autonomy expands, the importance of the funds for sociocultural measures and housing construction, used in building projects for nonindustrial purposes, will increase. In other words, the operating enterprises will begin to "earn" their own housing funds. Obviously, the share of the funds invested by individual working people in improving their housing conditions will also increase. All of this means a growth of noncentralized sources for the development of the nonproduction sphere and the need to organize their efficient material backing. So far, centralized state capital investments for such purposes are appropriated essentially on the basis of the sectorial principle by the respective departments and a lesser part directly by the soviets of people's deputies and their local authorities. Such practices were justified since the growth of output was achieved essentially by building new enterprises, which demanded cadres and, therefore, housing. In frequent cases, however, the departments allocate funds for housing below the planned figures. Furthermore, such funds are not correlated with the capacities of contracting construction organizations. Therefore, even the reduced funds for housing construction occasionally remain unused, while the local soviets cannot force the departments to allocate the full amount of funds and

facilities for housing construction, not to mention appropriations for building communal economy facilities and the development of the rest of the nonproduction sphere. A typical occupation of the heads of local party and soviet bodies is engaging in extensive discussions with departments on contributing their share of funds for the implementation of their obligations.

Naturally, this procedure requires major improvements, for the material support of newly constructed enterprises, as stipulated in the plans, is no longer a local but a governmental concern which must be supervised by the soviets, for which reason they must have broader rights and effective levers with which to influence departments, including the absolute right to reassign funds from industrial to housing construction and to the development of social infrastructure projects as stipulated by the plan.

Since the technical retooling and reconstruction of operating enterprises has become the main area of capital investments, which could also bring about a reduction in the size of the employed manpower, it clearly becomes expedient to provide centralized state capital investments into the solution of social problems unrelated to the development of new territories, and the building of new enterprises, primarily to the councils of ministers of union republics, for use by the executive authorities of the local soviets. For example, a city soviet could collect the funds earned by the enterprises for housing and cultural construction and provide housing for the workers of those same enterprises, in proportion to their investment. As to centralized funds, the housing built with their help could be allocated among all enterprises or offered directly to the population in accordance with the social policy formulated by the party and the state.

In order to ensure the comprehensive development of a city it is as important to make housing available to physicians, teachers and other categories of individuals providing services to the population as improving the housing conditions of workers in production associations and enterprises, the more so since budget-supported organizations providing services have no economic incentive funds of their own. Since the condition and development of the social infrastructure has an active influence on the growth of output, increasing state outlays for such purposes could depend on the contribution which a republic, oblast, or city makes to the overall indicators of the country's development, based on differentiated standards. Naturally, this should not affect the centralized procedure applied in the various areas of utilization of public consumption funds, such as the availability of medical and children's preschool institutions, schools, etc.

In order to increase the responsibility of enterprises in coordinating the development of their production with the social infrastructure of the city, equally substantiated are suggestions on improving the form of payments for the use of both natural resources and basic production capital and manpower.

The formulation of a consolidated plan for the entire territory is a necessary means of coordinating the activities of all enterprises in the production of consumer goods by the soviets. However, the consolidated nature of this plan lowers its active role in solving problems of meeting population demand for high-quality items. The formulation of plans for the production of consumer



goods based on expanded variety and on the orders of the stores can substantially improve the satisfaction of population demand; the stores must be given firm guarantees. In other words, the commercial organizations should compensate the enterprises for their actual material damages suffered as the result of the violation or nonfulfillment of a contract.

The Comprehensive Program for the Development of the Production of Consumer Goods and Services for 1986-2000 must become a major tool in solving this group of problems. According to this plan, the party and soviet bodies in republics, krays and oblasts assume full responsibility for providing the population with commodities and services, above all through the maximal utilization of local reserves.

A radical improvement in all areas of population services requires a qualitatively new approach. We believe that, as is the case with production, here particular attention should be paid to intensification. It is important not only to widen health care institutions, for example, but also to apply progressive disease-prevention, diagnosis and treatment methods. Here as well the role of the local soviets is exceptionally important. They must promote new approaches and support progressive ideas and innovators.

Possibly, in order to ensure the better solution of social problems, the local authorities and managements should improve incentives for competition among enterprises and organizations for providing good quality services to the population and give priority in meeting the needs for additional material resources to those among them whose work is most valued by the consumers.

Naturally, additional territorial opportunities for the acceleration of socioeconomic development exist. The actualization of these possibilities depends on a number of additional steps to improve management, including the redistribution of functions among its various units, enhancing the level of territorial planning, perfecting the organizational structures of management and finding efficient motivations and incentives and, therefore, ensuring further improvements in the work of the soviets in national economic management. The soviets alone, as stipulated in the USSR Constitution, have the right to manage all sectors of governmental, economic and sociocultural building, either directly or through their agencies. The activities of the soviets and their permanent commissions and of the deputies themselves must concentrate on upgrading the legitimacy of their decisions, the efficiency of their organization and verification of execution. The accountability of all governmental bodies to the respective soviets enhances the democratic, the nationwide nature of the Soviet socialist state and its development and strengthening, which are key problems of party policy.

In order to secure the real influence of the soviets on accelerating the country's development, the party is following a course of enhancing their role and responsibility in independently solving problems of local significance and in coordinating and supervising the activities of organizations on their territory. Both are directly related to perfecting territorial planning.

Expanding the rights and economic autonomy of associations and enterprises and increasing their responsibility for and interest in achieving high end results

are some of the aspects of the Leninist principle of democratic centralism. Another is improving the efficiency of centralized management. Centralization itself is both sectorial and territorial. Both, in the final account, converge within a specific soviet, from its lowest to its highest level as an agency of the country's governmental power.

The previously developed forms and degrees of centralized management of economic and social processes (primarily along departmental channels) have significantly exhausted their possibilities. The delegates at the party congress spoke of the need to broaden the right of republic and local bodies. The time has come to reassign functions among governmental, sectorial and territorial management levels. The Basic Directions call for refining the functions and structures of ministries and departments and concentrating efforts on determining the long-range development of the sectors, the shaping of the most important proportions and the formulation and implementation of a unified scientific and technical and investment policy. Gradually, as suitable conditions become available, they must eliminate types of activities alien to their functions and which divert them from the efficient solution of problems of production specialization and cooperation, and meeting the needs of the national economy and the population for sectorial output.

The territorial bodies will be given greater rights in sectorial planning and management, directly related to meeting population requirements and ensuring the comprehensive development of the economy and the efficient utilization of manpower, raw material and fuel and energy resources, cooperation among production facilities and increased economic efficiency.

The new economic management conditions also formulate stricter requirements concerning territorial planning as the main instrument in ensuring comprehensive development. First of all, it is obviously necessary to take steps for the exercise of rights already granted to the local soviets in this area. Their exercise is still hindered by poor discipline shown by a high share of enterprises and organizations under superior jurisdiction, operating on the territory of a given soviet, which must promptly coordinate with the soviets many of their plan indicators. Upgrading the organizing and disciplining role of the territorial plan would change it from a document pertaining essentially to the local economy, supplemented by indicators of a consolidated nature, into a unified plan which will consolidate the results of coordinated work with enterprises under superior jurisdiction.

Second, the functions, rights and obligations of the local soviets in the area of planning must be made consistent with the requirements of the accelerated development of the country. This presumes refining the context of the comprehensive economic and social development as applicable to the various territorial levels and including in the area influenced by the plan problems of intersectorial cooperation, singling out its specific forms which are inherent in each separate level. All of this becomes possible if ministries and departments would formulate their plans on the territorial level.

In our view, a major circumstance which lowers the efficiency of territorial planning and management as a whole is the poor economic base of the kray, oblast and city soviets of people's deputies. They manage a small percentage

of enterprises within the social infrastructure and a small number of enterprises producing consumer goods sold in their area. This narrows possibilities of upgrading the efficiency of territorial management and increasing the financial autonomy of local soviets.

In addition to the planning and organization support needed in solving the main problems of the local soviets, efficient methods of economic incentive should be ascribed an increasingly important role. In this connection the interest of the local bodies in improving the work of enterprises on their territory and of the enterprises themselves in efficiently using the resources of the territory and ensuring its comprehensive development must be increased.

In relation to the first aspect, we could also consider steps such as introducing payments to the local budget from enterprise profits, regardless of departmental affiliation, for the development of the social and production infrastructure. In such a case, it would be important not to limit such payments merely to the controlled revenue part of the budget but also contemplate changes in budget expenditures aimed at ensuring comprehensive development. Attention should also be paid to establishing cost accounting relations among territorial bodies and all enterprises and organizations in the case of recruitment of their workers for general work projects (at vegetable bases, in cleaning up the territory, etc.). It would be expedient, in the latter case, to introduce payments for the use of all types of local resources. Should ceilings on resource utilization be exceeded, such payments would be graduated and not compensated by increasing production costs. It is also necessary to increase the steps which stimulate the use of secondary resources and the application of ecologically clean technological processes.

Nonetheless, the broadening of the financial possibilities of the local soviets will not yield the desired results unless it has firm material backing. As with the need to meet the solvent demand of the population for commodities and services, the "solvent demand" of the local soviets must be backed by the possibility of acquiring material resources and services (in particular on the part of construction organizations) in the necessary amount and variety. In turn, this demands a major restructuring of material and technical supplies, which must be provided to the local soviets, thus releasing departments and their enterprises from such obligations.

Major steps were taken in recent years to strengthen the local planning bodies with cadres. Clearly, however, more work must be done in the area. To begin with, the structure of some executive committees of local soviets must be made consistent with the tasks of the comprehensive development of their territories, as stipulated by the 27th Party Congress. This way the soviets can be entirely responsible for solving all problems within their range of competence and become one of the most important prerequisites for accelerating the country's socioeconomic development.

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## RETURN ON LAND INVESTMENTS AND INVESTMENT STRUCTURE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 8, May 86 (signed to press 21 May 86) pp 28-39

[Article by P. Guzhvin, chief of the RSFSR Central Statistical Administration]

[Text] One of the ways of accelerating the pace of socioeconomic development is perfecting investment and structural policy. In the final account, the accelerated development of the country will be manifested in the growth rates of national income. According to estimates, it should increase by no less than 4 percent annually, compared to 3.1 percent in the 11th 5-Year Plan (based on the current volume of output, 1 percent is equivalent to about 6 billion rubles). Since 28 percent of the national economy is generated in agriculture, understandably its accelerated growth greatly depends on the pace at which this sector develops.

Statistical data proved, however, that within the entire national economic complex agricultural output is increasingly more slowly than the gross indicators of other sectors. Under the Soviet system, industrial production in the country increased by a factor of 195, whereas agricultural output roughly quadrupled (with a 1.8 factor increase of the land under crops). During the 11th 5-Year Plan industry developed at a growth rate of 3.7 percent, compared to 1.1 percent for agriculture (average annual level). At the same time, the replacement share in "gross" agricultural output increased. Whereas at the start of the 1970s net output from agriculture (national income) accounted for 58 percent, in 1984 its share in the gross output had dropped to 53 percent (in prices for the corresponding years). The cost of materials in the sector increased faster compared with the volume of output. To a certain extent the reduced pace of agricultural development hinders the pace of development of industry, one-third of which consists of the light, food and some other industrial sectors which obtain a significant portion of their raw materials from crops and livestock farms.

The urgent need for faster agricultural intensification has been obvious and some positive changes have taken place of late. For example, in the 1983-1985 period milk production increased by 7.2 million tons (or 8 percent), an increase entirely secured by the higher productivity of the dairy herd. In the past 3 years meat production increased by 1.6 million tons (10.7 percent), whereas the average annual herd of cattle and poultry increased by no more than 4 percent. All of this led to a certain improvement in food supplies to

the population. However, so far the changes which have occurred in the intensification of animal husbandry have not been properly supported in crop growing: productivity per hectare is increasing rather slowly.

The main reasons for the slowed-down growth rates in agriculture and in the entire agroindustrial complex are the violated proportionality in the development of its sectors and the poor concentration of resources in decisive areas. On the broad level, the resources of the economic potential in agriculture are, above all, people, the land and the other means of production, based on labor tools. As to the workers, their number, as we know, is declining. The mass development of new land is no longer demanded, for territories suitable for such purpose have become practically exhausted. Today it is above all a question of upgrading the fertility of the land, as was emphasized at the congress. Therefore, the more accessible flexible part of agricultural resources is found in the means of production (other than the land). The most efficient factor here is maneuvering with the volumes and structure of basic productive capital which multiplies the production force of labor. In this connection as well, we believe, the study of capital investments in this sector is very important, for they are a lever in regulating the structure of assets.

## I

Since the founding of the USSR a total of 715 billion rubles have been invested by the state and the kolkhozes in agriculture, 72 percent of this amount in the last 15 years. As a result, the sector obtained increasing amounts of productive capital. As we know, however, this sector is extremely wide. Its work area covers 558 million hectares. Correlating outlays with the land, we see that capital investments per hectare of farmland average 1,300 rubles. This is not all that high, considering that a tractor, depending on the model, costs between 3,000 and 15,000 rubles, the construction of a modern livestock farm costs between 250,000 and 300,000 rubles and a family house 25,000 to 35,000; a kilometer of paved highway costs 150,000 rubles, an irrigated hectare, with outlays for its development, averages as much as 5,000 rubles, etc. Furthermore, a high percentage of such assets have already been written off due to wear and other reasons. At the beginning of 1986 production assets in agriculture were worth 318 billion rubles. We must be aware of this fact in order to understand more clearly the most important task of the economical and, above all, most profitable placement of the overall limited amount of capital investments.

We must point out that of late their structure in agriculture has changed somewhat. Most of them are still outlays related to the development of productive assets. During the 11th 5-Year Plan, however, the share of expenditures for housing and other sociocultural projects increased substantially. Between 1981 and 1985 their volume increased by one-half compared with the previous 5-year period.

Funds used in the construction of livestock farms were reduced in the overall amount of capital investments in production purposes from 19 percent in 1980 to 14 percent in 1984; within a 4-year period such expenditures dropped by 1.3 billion rubles. This, precisely, is the beneficial consequence of the course

of intensification charted for animal husbandry: the increased volume of output is now being ensured essentially by increasing productivity and the need for new premises is no longer most urgent. It has become possible to reallocate some resources for other needs, including housing.

Approximately one-third of productive capital investments go into the purchase of tractors, motor vehicles, agricultural machinery, and other equipment, the share of which is growing with the accelerated influx of mechanisms in agriculture. The construction of industrial water facilities holds a stable 19-20 percent of all investments of a production nature.

During the 12th 5-Year Plan the agroindustrial complex will account for one-third of all capital investments in the country. The priority question now is their recovery.

By their very nature, capital investments are considered strategic. The service life of some types of productive capital is estimated in terms of decades. Some outlays have a relatively fast turnover. Thus, some agricultural machines are useful for 5 to 8 years. However, it also may happen that current expenditures may yield results only in the distant future. An example of this is capital outlays related to the reproduction of manpower: housing, kindergartens, schools, sports and similar installations in the countryside will become fully operational when they are used by the individual to develop his health, to grow up, develop respect for farm work, acquire a corresponding skill and enter the production process (which takes 18 to 20 years).

In some cases, however, the recovery of capital investments may be delayed for other more prosaic reasons. Assets are frequently developed which have no efficient use because of a variety of disproportions, such as premises in livestock farms without livestock; cattle and poultry kept half-starving; power generating facilities not equipped with the full set of necessary machinery; fertile fields isolated from the market for lack of roads, etc. Another feature which hinders the high recovery of investments is the still remaining variety of "mercantilism" in the development of productive assets. This is observed in particular in the building of livestock premises where in some cases the buildings are erected with expensive metal and other structural materials not typical of agricultural construction. Adding to such errors as manpower and feed shortages, the recovery of capital investments in cattle is delayed substantially and the output becomes increasingly costly to the farm, for its growth does not match the growth of assets.

The elimination of disproportions in the development of agriculture is related, above all, to the structure of capital investments. Without losing track of long-range developments, it is important to allocate planned capital outlays in such a way that, if not today, tomorrow the growth rates of finished output will substantially increase and the increased growth will ensure a lowering of production costs and strengthen the economy of all sectors within the agroindustrial complex. All of this is based on the productivity of the land and investments, for which reason it is important, above all, to determine the extent to which they influence farmland returns. The growth of such returns may be based on improving the fertility of the

land, the elimination of losses and application of relatively better means of commodity processing and utilization (today nearly 20 percent of the crops are lost). Therefore, against the broad background of planned capital investments we should try to identify the priority sectors, the "sensitive spots" in the sector, which show a live reaction to investments in increasing the productivity in the land. It would be useful, in this connection, to consider the existing experience in the utilization of farmland in different areas and by different enterprises.

## II

The 27th Party Congress called for more than doubling the growth rates of agricultural output. Additional steps were formulated aimed at upgrading the efficiency of all sectors within the agroindustrial complex. Essentially they consist of changing the socioeconomic situation in the countryside and creating conditions for greater intensification and guaranteed output. Naturally, the greatest success can be achieved with the most favorable combination of the components of the economic potential in agriculture: cadres, land and other means of production.

If we look at the large zones in our country, we can immediately note the great disparities in returns on the land, most broadly gauged by factors such as, for example, crop output. Thus, in the Ukraine between 1981 and 1985 the average annual output per 100 hectares of farmland was 39,500 rubles or nearly twice as high as in the neighboring oblasts in the Central-Chernozem Rayon in the RSFSR. A similar correlation may be seen in data for Belorussia and the Nonchernozem Zone in Russia: 50,000 and 22,000 rubles, respectively. Land productivity in this zone, compared with that in the Baltic republics, is approximately 40 percent lower in terms of value. Naturally, this is followed by differences in the amount of output in animal husbandry per unit of plowland. In the zones we named in the Russian Federation, during that period they were lesser by 40-50 percent, compared with the Ukraine, Belorussia and the Baltic republics.

The nature of all such differences, naturally, is quite heterogeneous. They are affected by climatic features, the sectorial structure of agricultural production and, to a certain extent, organizational factors. While not denying this, it is important to compare individual elements of the economic potential in agriculture.

In the Ukraine there are 6.6 hectares of arable land per person employed in agricultural production, as compared to 11.7 (nearly double) in the Central-Chernozem Rayon in Russia; the figure is 5.2 for Belorussia and 9.9 (nearly double) in the Russian Nonchernozem. Compared with similar average data for the Baltic area, there is 29 percent more land per agricultural worker in the Nonchernozem.

Even assuming an equal distribution of labor tools, the peasant who has less land has the possibility of applying greater efforts to enhance its productivity. Such possibilities are multiplied if, furthermore, he has better capital assets. Estimates indicate that compared with the Nonchernozem, productive capital per unit of arable land in the Baltic

republics is greater by a factor of 1.8; Ukrainian farms have better equipment than enterprises in the Central-Chernozem Rayon of the Russian Federation (by 34 percent).

Similar comparisons could be made for other territories which, naturally, do not show drastic climatic or production specialization contrasts. In Chuvashiya, for example, there are 5 hectares of arable land per agricultural worker, compared with 11 in Mordoviya; the output in the former is 89 percent higher per hectare (in terms of value). Compared with Kuybyshev Oblast, Tatarsiya has 60 percent more labor resources in its agricultural enterprises; the republic's agricultural output is higher by 31 percent. Noticeable differences in the availability of manpower for agriculture exist in Sverdlovsk and Chelyabinsk oblasts (in the former it is higher by 90 percent); differences in manpower availability between Tomsk and Omsk oblasts (higher by 50 percent in the latter) are also manifested in substantial disparities in the productivity of the land (respectively by a factor of 2 and 1.5).

A comparative analysis based on average data for large territories, naturally, includes a greater number of concealed factors and it is entirely sensible to doubt the existence of a close cost and relation dependence between the availability of manpower and land productivity. The doubt is further intensified if we study all neighboring territories, which is bound to reveal less clear correlations. A more convincing proof of such a dependence calls for an "anatomical dissection" on the farm level, based on mass data.

In studying the development of capitalism in Russia, Lenin used statistical groups of peasant farmsteads based on the size of the crop. He believed that "this is a very adequate method, which enables us accurately to judge of the state of agriculture in each group" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Completed Collected Works], vol 3, p 61), if all farmsteads specialized in the same areas. The classification was also based on crop size per worker (as a rule, these were family farms), which enabled Lenin to identify the profound processes of peasant stratification in postreform Russia.

Under the conditions of a socialist economy, naturally, the very nature of the farms and the purpose of the study are different. The classification method, however, remains adequate, for to this day it provides rich food for thought concerning the farms within each group, also including from the viewpoint of investment policy.

The Nonchernozem Zone in the RSFSR has 2,300 dairy sovkhozes. Their saturation with manpower in terms of available land is quite disparate. Here are some data for these sovkhozes for 1983:



|   |     | Basic Productive<br>Capital (1000<br>rubles) per |     | Gross Farm<br>Output (1000<br>rubles) per |     |      |
|---|-----|--|-----|---|-----|------|
| Groups of Sovkhozes With Farmland (Hectares) Per Worker |     |  |     |   |     |      |
| Under 4   | 153 | 16.4   | 566 | 4.2                                       | 144 | 19.0 |
| 4-6   | 236 | 17.7   | 347 | 4.6                                       | 90  | 19.1 |
| 6-8   | 278 | 14.9   | 212 | 4.2                                       | 60  | 15.9 |
| 8-11  | 532 | 13.8   | 145 | 3.9                                       | 41  | 14.3 |
| 11-14   | 446 | 13.8   | 111 | 4.0                                       | 32  | 13.3 |
| 14-17   | 325 | 12.8   | 83  | 4.0                                       | 26  | 12.0 |
| 17-20   | 174 | 13.2   | 71  | 4.3                                       | 23  | 11.4 |
| 20-23   | 80  | 13.2   | 62  | 4.2                                       | 10  | 10.8 |
| 23 and more   | 102 | 13.9   | 51  | 4.4                                       | 16  | 9.9  |

A close consideration of this table, we believe, clearly proves that under contemporary conditions, as a rule, the productivity of the land is closely related to manpower availability. The data show the way in which as the "load" of land per worker increases in the groups of dairy sovkhozos, gross output per unit of farmland drops. The difference between the extreme groups in terms of gross crop output is a factor of six, and for animal husbandry a factor of 12. Compared with the lowest group, the farms in the upper group produce more milk by a factor of 13 per unit of farmland. Let us also add that in the first group of sovkhozos average milk production per cow is 2,965 kilograms, whereas in the last it is lower by 35 percent.

A characteristic feature is that farms in all groups have similar equipment. Whereas their capital-labor ratio is somewhat higher compared with the average for all farms (14,600 rubles), it is found precisely in sovkhozos with the smallest amount of land per worker. Only minor differences exist among the groups in terms of labor productivity, ranging between 3,900 and 4,600 rubles, differences which do not fit any pattern.

Therefore, in the final account, substantial disparities in manpower availability in the sovkhozos turn into equally substantial differences in productivity. The table shows the way gradually (from one group to another) the problems become aggravated; yields decline, intensive crops which can yield relatively greater output per unit of area are no longer planted, the dairy herd is reduced and its productivity drops. All of this makes returns on the land less efficient. Let us note that land reclamation, for example, would not solve such problems which can become even more aggravated by reclamation systems under the conditions of the lower groups of sovkhozos by aggravating manpower shortages: with the existing labor facilities and the production structure, technology per irrigated or drained hectare, compared with undeveloped land requires substantial additional manpower. It is precisely in such cases that, most frequently, we notice the low efficiency of hydraulic construction projects.

Lenin noted in his studies that the prerevolutionary farms with more land per farmstead began to hire manpower to handle the new farm tools. Naturally, no exploitation exists in a socialist economy. From the economic viewpoint,

however, additional labor is necessary to improve the utilization of the land, either in terms of manpower or, above all, a suitable set of labor tools.

Under contemporary conditions, could we hope for a major influx of additional manpower in agriculture? There are no reasons to think so. Let us consider those same dairy sovkhozes in the Russian Nonchernozem. If we undertake to supply each one of them with manpower equal to the average indicator (10.4 hectares of farmland per worker), we would have to hire additionally 153,000 able-bodied people, more than the currently available manpower in agriculture in Ivanovo and Kostroma oblasts together. This becomes even less possible with the present drop in the growth of labor resources.

Worldwide experience indicates that the number of people employed in agriculture is steadily declining in absolute and, even more so, relative terms. In the GDR, for example, agricultural workers today account for approximately 20 percent of the population. If we take this indicator as a guideline for the future, in the case of Belorussia, for example, agriculture in that republic has a manpower potential of approximately 700,000 people, who could be subsequently used in other sectors. Today the fields and livestock farms of the public enterprises in that republic alone account for about 12 percent of the population, compared with more than 10 in the Ukraine and more than 16 in Moldavia. For the country at large, as we know, 27 million people, or approximately 10 percent of the population, are engaged in agriculture.

Consequently, the positive rating of the fact that the intensiveness of the outflow of the rural population into other sectors has slowed down in recent years is the result not of the main law governing the distribution of manpower in the course of the development of socialist social production, but the features of the present, when agricultural intensification is not taking place at an adequate speed and with proper consistency. We believe that it would be erroneous to apply this assessment to the entire country. In a number of areas agriculture has extensive manpower reserves which could be channeled into other sectors where they are urgently needed.

Nevertheless, we cannot deny that there has been a strong depopulation of rural territories, where an acute shortage of "full-blooded" manpower has developed in kolkhozes and sovkhozes, and where people with a "surplus" of land and adequate tools and organization, in frequent cases work negligently. It is possible that in such cases outside manpower would have to be recruited. Many such farms may be found, particularly in the Russian Nonchernozem. Nevertheless, this remains the exception rather than the rule.

The instructions issued by the party and the government on the extensive development of auxiliary farms of the population, enterprises and organizations, and eliminating hindrances in broadening collective truck gardening, are of major importance also from the viewpoint of manpower utilization. In this case there is virtually no additional manpower involved. Indirect manpower reserves are put to use: pensioners and family members are increasing their participation in farming; individuals employed in other sectors spend part of their leisure time in cultivating the land. All of this results in tangible increases in food resources.

Such is the situation with labor. What about materialized labor? That same group of dairy sovkhoses leads us to think that according to current practices, in frequent cases productive capital is supplied regardless of the amount of land per worker. Even if in planning capital investments this aspect is taken to a certain extent into consideration, life itself makes its corrections: they are used wherever the situation with labor resources is less tight, as a result of which they are converted faster into assets. Furthermore, the location of contracting construction organizations, the network of reliable transport facilities, the location of enterprises producing construction materials, and so on, exert strong pressure in the formulation of the plans. Such factors are most frequently not to the advantage of territories and farms with insufficient manpower.

Here is yet another example borrowed from the geography of manpower resources, capital assets and level of agricultural intensiveness. Twenty-six rural rayons surround our capital. The remaining 13 rayons in Moscow Oblast are on the borderline. In turn, close to them are 21 rayons in Ryazan, Vladimir, Yaroslavl, Kalinin, Smolensk, Kaluga and Tula oblasts. If we take as the unit the availability of farm workers in the first group of rayons, in the border rayons of Moscow Oblast it is higher by one-half and in the neighboring territories, by a factor of 2.7. Nevertheless, the capital-labor ratio does not change all that substantially. Its level, however, declines as the distance from the capital increases, in the following sequence: 1; 0.9; and 0.7. The effect of the combination of these factors is that in the group of rayons which is most distant from Moscow, agricultural output per unit of farmland is lower by a factor of five compared with rayons surrounding the capital. The correlation of said indicators in the three groups of rayons is as follows: 1.0; 0.5; and 0.2.

All of this, we believe, confirms yet once again the great importance today of paying particular attention to the areas in which capital investments are used and perfecting the structure of assets and the geography of their distribution.

### III

When it becomes a question of priority trends in capital outlays (of available resources), it is important to take into consideration the entire agroindustrial complex and give priority to areas where they will have a positive impact not only directly on a given sector but beyond it as well.

The low level of productivity is due, in the majority of cases, to the violation of the most basic technological requirements. A substantial part of the overall technology for high yields, particularly in the farms of the Nonchernozem Zone in the RSFSR, involves work with organic fertilizer. In this sense, a similar situation prevails in Belorussia. In the Nonchernozem, however, an average of 6 tons of such fertilizer is applied per hectare of farmland, compared with 16 in Belorussia (1985). Naturally, this difference has influenced respective disparities in the already mentioned land productivity. Unquestionably, subjective features play a certain role as well. This role, however, is nevertheless manifested under the conditions of

the essential objective differences existing in the availability of manpower and productive capital, which we also noted.

Therefore, all other conditions being equal, technological violations are frequently related to manpower shortages and available implements. It follows from this that priority in the structure of capital investments should be given to areas most closely related to replacing manpower in fields and livestock farms with equipment and, at the same time, ensuring the growth of the overall productivity of the land. Wherever manpower shortages exist the available manpower should be supplied as soon as possible with labor tools which would not only compensate for the shortage but would also multiply the overall productive force of available manpower, so that intensive technology could be applied strictly, and so that it could handle any difficulties caused by the weather. The same approach is valid also in the case of agricultural areas with adequate manpower supply. The need for such manpower in such areas would decline, which would solve the current problem of hindering the transfer of people from agriculture to other sectors. What makes this even more important is that the other areas within the agroindustrial complex itself and within its infrastructure are still by no means blossoming in their development. Here, unlike in agriculture, no absolute reduction in the number of workers is anticipated for the future. Conversely, more manpower will be necessary. This will also provide additional return on investments channeled into the upsurge of labor productivity directly in agriculture.

It would be useful to recall in this connection Marx's evaluation of the activities of British farmers in 1849-1859, when the wages of farm workers increased and the farmers were forced to lay some of them off. "...In these 11 years they introduced all possible machines and began to apply more scientific methods. They turned some of their plowland into pastures and increased the sizes of their farms and the amount of output. Having reduced the demand for manpower with the help of these and other measures and having increased labor productivity, they once again reached a level in which the rural population began to show a relative surplus" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 16, pp 152-153). Under the conditions of a planned socialist agriculture unemployment does not exist. However, nor should there be a scarcity of manpower, which hinders the intensification of the sector.

The fact that in the 12th 5-Year Plan, in accordance with the resolutions of the 27th Party Congress, priority will be given to the development of machine building which, naturally, would include its agricultural sectors, is of great importance. In the past, as we know, a disproportion developed between funds invested in machine building for the countryside and similar outlays invested directly in agriculture; the funds allocated for machine building were lesser by a factor of 18. In order to eliminate such disproportion, capital investments in machine building have been additionally increased by nearly 6 billion rubles at the expense of agriculture. Here as well, however, priorities should be set.

Today we have a great variety of machines and mechanisms, increasing with every passing year. Nevertheless, the disproportion between power tools and work tools remains in the farms (this problem was discussed in detail in the article "Equipment Available to the Rural Worker" (KOMMUNIST, No 1, 1984)).

Unfortunately, no substantial positive changes in this area have been noted of late. In 1985, for example, our power equipment increased by 36 million horsepower, or by 5 percent; the increased output of agricultural machines and equipment for animal husbandry and feed production increased 6.4 percent compared with 1984, including no more than 3.5 percent in the case of agricultural machinery.

The production of attachments for the energy-saturated tractors of the K-700 and T-150 models is being increased at a faster pace; it increased by 11 percent in 1985. The Ministry of Tractor and Agricultural Machine Building plans to increase attachments for said tractors by 12 percent in 1986, and the equipment for grain-crop growing based on intensive technology, by a factor of 2.1. Naturally, this is important. However, the share of such machinery in the overall amount of this type of equipment does not exceed 10 percent. Yet we need firm progress along the entire front and must increase the production of the entire set of work tools for the countryside.

Let us note that statistics on inventions in this area show an alarming picture. Whereas in the 9th 5-Year Plan more than 100 prototypes of agricultural machines were developed on an annual average, in the first 4 years of the 11th 5-Year Plan the number dropped to 84. Even less than that are produced, equalling the number of obsolete models removed from the production process. Meanwhile, 117 types of appliances are needed for the K-700 and T-150 model tractors, the serial production of 59 of which is as yet to be organized.

It is important to handle investments in this sector in such a way as to decisively change the existing current ratio between power-operated and manual tools. We must do everything possible to accelerate the production of agriculture machinery compared with tractors and other power equipment.

It is not a matter of the amount of produced machines only. It is also a question of substantially improving the quality and reliability of the equipment. Every year industry supplies the countryside with between 32,000 and 36,000 bailers, greatly needed in harvesting the rough fodder. However, over the 5-year period their number has remained virtually stable: approximately the same amount of bailers are written off as are received. In many cases, as confirmed by this example, it may be better to invest funds in improving the design of such mechanisms instead of increasing their capacity. This problem, let us point out, frequently exceeds the possibilities of the agroindustrial complex, for the reliability of technical facilities frequently suffers from the low quality of the metal and other materials used.

Other than said bailers, dozens of labor tools may be found in agriculture aimed at solving particularly difficult problems in the technology of crop and livestock output. For example, the thinning of beets must be completed over vast areas in numbered days. To this day, however, as a rule, this is being done manually. The mechanisms and other technical facilities which should replace the manpower for such operations should become the particular concern of machine builders and such tools should be assigned a certain priority when it becomes a question of the amount and sequence of capital outlays for their production.

This type of approach in the policy of investments is important not only in machine building. As we know, chemical means of struggle against weeds are possible with the help of herbicides, without which a number of industrial technologies cannot be applied at all in the cultivation of many crops. The use of herbicides yields results in several areas. What matters for purposes of our study is that their use substantially reduces the need for manual labor in this area of work.

Throughout the world the production of herbicides is growing at a faster pace compared with that of fertilizers. In 1985, our countryside obtained from industry 35 percent more chemical fertilizers than in 1980; during that time deliveries of herbicides increased by 27 percent.

Practical experience indicates that in the future it would be expedient for the chemical industry to change somewhat the structure of investments and invest more in increasing capacities for the production of pesticides in general and herbicides in particular. This would be useful even if it results in a certain slowdown in the growth rates of the production of chemical fertilizers, bearing in mind that the use of herbicides results in significant fertilizer savings. The current variety of herbicides lacks many components urgently needed for the extensive use of industrial technology in the cultivation of flax, beets and other crops.

All that we said about investment policy applies, to a certain extent, to agriculture itself, in particular in connection with the machinery it receives. In a number of cases, in addition to shortcomings in the design of labor tools produced by industry, material facilities which ensure the productive work of such equipment have worsened in some areas. This is a complex and major problem which deserves a separate study. Let us merely mention here the question of organizing equipment storage. Currently, unfortunately, most of the equipment is under open skies, summer and winter. We believe that we should proceed in the future from the fact that all mechanisms and fodder be sheltered when not in use. As we know, the simplest storing areas are classified as "passive" assets. In the case of agriculture, their role should be subject to special consideration.

In this connection, let us go back to our classification of dairy sovkhoses in the Nonchernozem. The study indicates that in the most intensive 153 farms in their upper group, the percentage of "active" assets is the lowest, equaling 12 percent; as we proceed downwards, it gradually increases and in the final 102 sovkhoses with the worst return on the land, it is 27 percent. This may be somewhat puzzling; how could it be that enterprises with a higher percentage of "passive" assets are achieving high land productivity? This shows that it is precisely the availability of buildings in the farms and greater amount of storage areas and other so-called passive structures which actively contribute to production intensification.

Naturally, the fact that the scarcity of financial and material resources for building the necessary number of storage areas in all farms is a different matter. However, even under such circumstances, finding the necessary resources is necessary even if to build the simplest types of facilities. Such funds would be recovered quite quickly, by virtue of the fact alone that

the cost of equipment repairs would be lowered and, above all, the service life of the equipment would be extended. The practice of a number of farms in Moscow Oblast proves that thanks to a good organization of the storing of machinery, such outlays drop by 20-27 percent. Approximately 20 percent of the machinery can be used, furthermore, beyond its amortization time.

In turn, the villages must develop a counterinitiative in terms of equalizing the conditions of farms and territories with different amounts of manpower at their disposal. We tried to prove that the most efficient means of solving this problem is making certain changes in investment policy: it would be advantageous to increase the availability of equipment to a level which will enable the people strictly to observe crop-growing technology. This alone, without any other additional material resources, would substantially improve land productivity.

The elimination of disproportions in the development of agriculture could be achieved also by improving its production structure and introducing in fields and livestock farms the type of economic management system which would be most consistent with available resources and, at the same time, would enable us successfully to implement assignments. In other words, the crop structure and that of capital investments should be strictly consistent with the availability and the qualitative structure of the main parts of the economic potential: manpower and capital assets. In some cases, it would be economically more profitable to forego the productive features of one crop or another for the sake of manpower savings.

Here is an example: under Nonchernozem conditions, tuber feed crops, properly cared for and irrigated, could yield a relatively higher amount of feed units per hectare compared with cultivated pastures. However, the intensive cultivation of 1 hectare of tuber feed crops takes 100 or more man/days of labor with its present mechanization; even the most intensive cultivation of pastures does not exceed 3-4 man/days per hectare. Naturally, more comparisons of this nature could be made. In each specific case we must have a certain optimal choice in the structure of the utilization of the land in which the overall output per unit of area would be sufficiently high without exceeding the available manpower (given its current equipment-labor ratio).

In practical terms, this approach in developing the production structure of crop growing and animal husbandry is not being applied with sufficient consistency. Frequently, the fact is simply ignored that in some groups of farms there is an average of 5 hectares and, in others, 30 hectares of farmland per worker. This is the reason for which in frequent cases scientific zonal farming systems, the proper use of which could increase land productivity by 25-30 percent, are ignored. Their close study proves that from this viewpoint they are, as a rule, aimed at no one in particular. They provide knowledgeable recommendations on technologies to be used in growing specific crops, structuring crop rotation and fertilization systems, soil cultivation and plant protection, use of reclaimed land, etc., but all of it regardless of the presence of basic elements of farm economic potential, such as manpower and labor tools. Obviously, the zonal farming systems must mandatorily be more closely "linked" to reality. Practical work requires not a system in general, but a farming system applicable to one area or another

and an extensive selection of specialized areas for groups of enterprises with different economic potentials. As a farm strengthens, in the course of time its farming system will necessarily become more intensive, once it has become able to cope with it. The consistency of such changes, naturally, can be determined most accurately by agricultural science. It is unlikely that such systems would be ignored. Instead, they would become a reliable aid to local practical workers.

The CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers Decree "On the Further Advancement of the Economic Management Mechanism in the Agroindustrial Complex of the Country" calls for a conversion to a standard planning method for the volumes of output and purchases of agricultural commodities and the allocation of material and technical facilities. It is precisely on its basis that scientific farming systems must be drafted for each farm, based on its specific economic potential.

As noted in the documents of the 27th CPSU Congress, the accelerated socioeconomic development of the country must begin with changes in the investment and structural policy, concentrating on the technical retooling of enterprises, resource conservation and drastic increase in production quality. This fully applies to agriculture, to the entire agroindustrial complex. Bearing in mind that the main opportunities for achieving high efficiency lie at the areas where various sectors intersect, the implementation of a more efficient policy of capital outlays becomes the concern of the authorities in charge of managing the complex, the role and functions of which change under the new circumstances. It is precisely on such problems that their attention is directed in long-term planning and the broad utilization of scientific and technical innovations in upgrading the qualitative standard of production and output. At the same time, problems of developing the structure of agricultural production and its most efficient adaptation to current economic potentials and changes in the course of intensification should be solved by the agricultural enterprises themselves, with the help of the local management bodies. In other words, the center of gravity of current economic activities must be shifted directly to the labor collectives which should be given the necessary rights and autonomy to this effect. Unquestionably, all of this will allow the agrarian sector to make its substantial contribution to the general growth of the national income and to solving the problems formulated at the congress.

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## NEW WAY OF THINKING AND WORKING

### STRICT PRACTICAL TEST

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 8, May 86 (signed to press 21 May 86) pp 40-49

[Discussion with Gennadiy Georgiyevich Vedernikov, first secretary of the Chelyabinsk CPSU Obkom]

[Text] Slightly more than 3 months have passed since the delegates to the 27th CPSU Congress returned to their areas throughout the country, after adopting the final documents. They went back to describe to the party members who had elected them the work of the supreme party body, which answered the most important questions of the time and passed resolutions which will determine the nature of our activities for many years ahead. Above all, they returned so that they may begin more rapidly and energetically to implement the tasks which the 27th Congress set for the party and society, and for each one of us. What is the current situation in the labor collectives? Shall we be able to consolidate and develop everything good and useful which was created in the course of the labor competition of the masses? How dynamically and efficiently is the process of restructuring the thoughts and actions developing in all areas of production and social life? No more significant or topical questions exist today. The practical answers to them are a prerequisite for converting the energy of plans into the energy of the necessary crucial changes.

Slightly more than 3 months....is this enough or too little? It is too little if we speak of the long-term problems of the qualitative restructuring of the economy and other areas of social activities, as formulated by the party congress. It is entirely adequate, if we consider the initial practical steps and trends based on long-term strategic developments. The start greatly determines the subsequent course of events. It is extremely important if the project is to be successful not to waste the time during which documents of tremendous political significance begin to be resmelted into the direct actions of thousands and thousands of people. These were the views expressed by Gennadiy Georgiyevich Vedernikov, head of the Chelyabinsk Oblast Party Organization, in his discussion with N. Tyurin, this journal's special correspondent.

[Question] Judging by data of the oblast statistical administration, industry in Chelyabinsk Oblast is working intensively and stably this year. The figures prove that the activities of the oblast's agroindustrial complex have

significantly intensified. However, statistics deals with quantitative indicators only. What stands behind them? What are the reasons which have determined as a whole the successful start taken by the oblast economy in the 12th 5-Year Plan?

[Answer] Let me emphasize, above all, that the oblast party committee and our party and economic aktiv do not tend to overestimate the January-April results. We are trying to emphasize the currently needed strictness and objectivity in our assessments as much as we can. We remember all too well not only the past, when a few isolated and very modest successes somehow imperceptibly were presented as a system through repeated mentions in the press and verbally, as a stable feature of the work of one enterprise, sector or area or another. They both lulled us and triggered inertia and self-admiration. Today all too many such "traditions" must be surmounted before we can begin to list our accomplishments. Nevertheless, we must learn how to see all positive or negative indicators, and development trends, without exception.

Here are some figures. The growth rates in the volume of output for the first 4 months of the year equaled 105.4 percent rather than 102.6 percent and for labor productivity 105.7 rather than 102.8 percent as planned. Goods worth nearly 115 million rubles were produced above the plan. This may give grounds for rejoicing. However, we are not overestimating such results, considering them a normal and, unquestionably, an interim result of the tremendous amount of work we have initiated in restructuring the mentality, thinking and acting of each one of us, from the worker to the party obkom's first secretary.

Furthermore, the statistical report for the first 4 months clearly indicates areas which have essentially remained unaffected by the reconstruction processes. For the time being, in such areas the reconstruction is being promoted in words only. I am referring to the 59 enterprises in the oblast which failed to fulfill their marketing plans and collectives which failed to reach the planned levels of higher labor productivity, which account for one-eighth of all oblast collectives. The amounts owed by the lagging subunits in the oblast balance may appear small, some 10 million rubles, compared with the fact that for the same period of last year, there were 79 such "indebted" enterprises which fell short in producing goods worth 37.9 million rubles. Therefore, we can see a major drop in the share of those who, for one reason or another, have remained outside the active and productively working sector in oblast industry. In no case, however, does such a comparison calm us down. Dozens of enterprises turned out to be unprepared to solve the problems of the 5-year plan. A study indicated that the shortcomings found in most such collectives are old; the people have become accustomed to them and the party's influence on the production process in such enterprises has weakened. Obviously, until we reduce the number of lagging enterprises to a minimum it would be premature to speak of any stable work by the oblast industry.

According to the 5-year plan, the increased volume of output in our country should amount to 16.1 percent by 1990. This is no easy task, considering the already stressed load of plants in the Urals. However, the oblast intensification program is even more stressed: within a 5-year period the volume of goods marketed must be increased by 20.2 percent and labor

productivity must increase by 27.4 percent. The natural question is the following: Are we not overestimating our possibilities? I believe that we are not. Here is why:

The oblast program is the sum of the enterprise programs for production intensification. In the period of their development, starting with 1984, the party obkom carefully watched not only end indicators but also the program formulation methodology. We can confidently say today that the majority of such comprehensive plans aimed, above all, at the accelerated technical retooling of the production process, have passed the practical test. Good work is being done at enterprises and production associations, such as the Chelyabinsk Tractor Plant imeni V.I. Lenin, the plants imeni Ordzhonikidze, Polet, Elektroapparat and others, where the intensification programs were approached on the basis of the requirements of the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum and the June conference on the acceleration of scientific and technical progress. The results of the first 4 months indicate that the levels planned for the 5-year period--increasing the volume of output by approximately 50 percent and labor productivity by a factor of 1.5-2, and reducing the number of workers by 10-20 percent--are realistic in the case of the frontranking machine building collectives in the oblast.

Nevertheless, we must frankly admit that by no means are all party and economic managers in the oblast thinking in terms of contemporary categories. The statements of some economic managers show the greatest possible support of the basic party initiatives in the area of economic restructuring. In practice, however, the stipulations of the April Central Committee Plenum and the party congress are being depreciated by a number of corrections and stipulations allegedly dictated by objective reasons. Their essence is expressed by a different formulation such as "Give us the necessary conditions and then we shall see...." This view becomes understandable if we look more closely at the biography of some enterprises and their managers.

For example, not so long ago the obkom buro sharply criticized the managements of the Chelyabinsk Tractor-Trailer Plant and the Uralelement Plant. A total of 30 million rubles were invested in the development of the former in the past 6 years. However, here the technical standard of output did not increase substantially and the number of workers has been increasing steadily. A roughly similar situation exists at the Uralelement Plant. In the last 5-year period millions of rubles were spent on new construction without, however, making any technological changes. Manual labor here accounts for 75 percent....

The CPSU Obkom has declared merciless war on such an approach to the work, whatever verbal shielding is being used to conceal it. No other way is possible. In our view, today the "quiet," and "covert" expectation becomes the main hindrance in the acceleration of socioeconomic development. It is particularly intolerable in solving problems of scientific and technical progress and upgrading production quality, i.e., in areas where maximal spiritual and intellectual energy must be invested. What is the state of the oblast's quality indicators? I believe that they are totally unsatisfactory. The plan for the production of superior quality goods for the first 4 months was fulfilled by no more than 98.1 percent. Its share in the overall volume

of output was 21.2 percent, which, naturally, is insufficient considering the highly developed state of Southern Ural industry.

These alarming figures, which typify the current situation, are not unexpected, for today virtually all types of goods produced in the oblast are insufficiently competitive. Even items with a good reputation, such as the DET-250 and T-130M tractors, Ural trucks, trailers and electro-erosion machine tools, are not competitive on the foreign market, even though they have been awarded the Emblem of Quality. Let us not even mention items with a lower quality rating. The inspection conducted last year by Gosstandart revealed gross violations of technological discipline at enterprises in five sectors. What do all such facts prove? We shall not be able to resolve quality problems without drastically promoting the efforts along the entire front, from the search for original design and technological solutions to the stamping of the OTK seal. Consequently, the party committees must develop a new work quality in this vitally important area. As we can see, so far this has not been accomplished.

In concluding the answer to your first question, let me say that as a whole, the development of the national economy in the oblast has been satisfactory. Most of the results were achieved by harnessing the immediate and more accessible possibilities of production intensification, above all strengthening the discipline and upgrading the responsibility of management cadres for their assignments. Restructuring the way of thinking and acting is not a one-time act. It presumes the systematic replacing and steady elimination of the old with the new. That is why today the overall situation here is quite desperate, showing a number of sharp contrasts. Since the main areas of work have been comprehensively covered in the party congress documents, it is our belief that the pace and depth of positive changes and their scale entirely depend today on the specific actions of one and all.

[Question] These days the editors are receiving a great deal of mail proving that occasionally the confrontation between the old and the new in the thoughts and actions of the people is assuming the nature of a grave and uncompromising clash. In this connection, what can you tell us on the situation within the oblast party organization?

[Answer] Again let me begin with a few figures which will provide a general idea of the efficiency of our work. During the 10th 5-Year Plan the average annual growth rates of labor productivity for the oblast equaled 5.7 percent. During the 11th 5-Year Plan this indicator dropped to 2.4 percent. This indicates, above all, the existence of major shortcomings in the party's management of the economy and the inability of economic managers to make use of existing opportunities. Furthermore, the situation is aggravated by the demographic condition in the area: looking at the 12th 5-Year Plan and the extensive methods for solving economic problems which have developed, manpower shortages will amount to about 150,000 people. Obviously, we must abandon the old methods once and for all. However, it is a question of long years of habit which, in many cases, has become astereotype in the thinking of a certain group of party and economic managers. That is why we are not expecting a quick and easy victory here. The pace and depth of restructuring the thinking and acting of those who largely determine the outcome of our

plans will be directly proportional to the persistent and uncompromising nature of the organizational and educational work of the oblast party organizations.

In this connection, let me cite data from two sociological surveys conducted last June and December by the public institute for specific sociological research, set up by the party obkom. The (anonymous) surveys involved the participation of 192 managers of leading oblast industrial enterprises, such as directors and secretaries of party committees and party buros. What was the initial most typical feature expressing the mood of this group of workers? In addition to their very interested and concerned attitude toward the affairs of their collectives and the party plans, as confirmed by the more than 500 suggestions submitted in the course of the surveys, the answers clearly showed a doubt about the realism of achieving the necessary levels rapidly.

At the June survey, for example, 46 percent of the managers considered that the comprehensive program for production intensification for the 12th 5-year period could not be implemented. It was indicative that only 2-3 percent of all suggestions called for harnessing internal enterprise reserves. The overwhelming majority of these suggestions were addressed to ministries, the CPSU Obkom and related enterprises. Approximately 80 percent of all suggestions called for perfecting material and technical supplies. More than 60 percent of the respondents called for radical improvements in planning. Characteristically, some managers (approximately 0.5-1 percent of all participants in the survey), who showed a maximalist mood in their suggestions and views, were noticeably more cautious in accessing their own possibilities.

The December survey showed a somewhat different situation. The number of managers who deemed the implementation of the intensification program possible increased; 85.4 percent of the respondents emphasized that a reorganization of the work had been initiated in their collectives; they noted the increased personal contribution of workers in accelerating enterprise development. The suggestions formulated were more specific and, at the same time, more exigent. As before, the most typical among them dealt with reorganizing the economic management mechanism and increasing the responsibility of ministries and departments for quality planning and balancing production with social factors in their plans. Also noteworthy was the fact that the respondents were becoming more critical concerning the role of science in solving the present complex industrial problems and that the number of suggestions concerning organizational mergers of scientific research institutes and enterprises had increased.

Naturally, we are pleased by all of this. On the other hand, however, the sociological data showed some alarming features. I would cite first among them the feelings of dependency which are still inherent in a certain group of managers. It is true that belief in the urgent need of radically improving economic management lost some ground in the views of the majority of our directors. Nevertheless, they still believe that the level of "outside" demands is somewhat excessive and is a way of concealing a passive attitude. Those who are unable to reorganize their thinking and drastically to upgrade their own labor returns are of no use to us today.

The present situation does not tolerate compromises, half-way measures and "exhortation" methods in cadre policy. Strictly speaking, such methods have never been useful and today they are more than harmful. As M.S. Gorbachev emphasized, the Soviet people must see and feel within the shortest possible time real change in all areas of our life and become convinced that there is no difference between the party's words and actions. A manager who cannot perform, who has not found his place in the radical restructuring of ways and means of work initiated by the party, can only preserve the obsolete style, alien to current requirements. He thus discredits party policy in the eyes of his subordinates. I am not even mentioning those who have defamed themselves and sullied their conscience as party members through unseemly acts. In this case no tolerance whatsoever is possible.

A.A. Laptun, former first secretary of the Verkhneuralskiy CPSU Raykom, was expelled from the party for gross violations of party discipline and appropriation of socialist property. O.I. Tishchenko, director of the Chelyabinsk Metallurgical Combine, was relieved of his position and held strictly accountable by the party for his drunkenness and inadmissible behavior toward people. In such cases the opinion of the obkom buro members was unanimous.

However, contemporary practice creates even more difficult situations. For example, in the past 5 years the base construction organization in the oblast, Glavyuzhuralstroy, which is under the jurisdiction of the USSR Ministry of Heavy and Transport Machine Building, did not fulfill its plan for construction and installation projects by 134 million rubles; more than 14 million rubles remained unused in the development of its own production facilities. In recent years the main administration has drastically reduced housing construction for its own workers, which has brought about an outflow of manpower from the construction sites. What were we to do?

Let me frankly say that when the obkom buro was considering the case of the chief of the main administration, different opinions were expressed at first. Some said, let us punish him more severely, the man may straighten out, he has a great deal of experience and a substantial amount of authority.... However, the analysis of the situation at Glavyuzhuralstroy indicated that his major contributions were in the past, whereas the present consisted of major errors and unwillingness to accept just criticism. Today the leadership of the main administration has been strengthened, and although it is still too early to speak of any major changes in capital construction, I believe that prerequisites to this effect have appeared.

As to the moral impact of the steps we took, it too was complex. I deem positive the actions of the former deputy chairman of the executive committee in charge of capital construction, who came to the obkom and asked for a less demanding job. In my view, this was an honest step, worthy of a communist. It is a pity that, for the time being, such steps are the exception. Today we are quite pressed for time. A proper assessment of one's role in the common project is possible only by rejecting ambitions and hurts. Thinking of this, I recall a meeting with Zlatoust metallurgical workers, which was held soon after the party congress. My main impression from this major and frank discussion was that the people have great faith in the justice of the Leninist

party and link with it their most cherished hopes. We must do everything possible not to shake this faith and to justify the expectations of the working people.

[Question] In your speech at the 27th CPSU Congress, you sharply criticized a number of ministries and departments for their attachment to group psychology, routine and lack of attention to legitimate regional demands. How are relations between the "center" and the "localities" developing now?

[Answer] The straight answer is that positive changes have taken place. It seems to me that there is also a trend toward their intensification. However, the majority of good changes in relations between the oblast and the central planning bodies and sectorial staffs are taking place essentially along the line of personal contacts, for the economic mechanism of our relations is so far nothing but a hypothesis. What do I mean by this? Above all, disparities remain between the interest of the region and the individual ministries. Thus, despite the stipulations of the April 1985 Party Central Committee Plenum and the CPSU Central Committee conferences held with managers of economic departments and ministries last August on drafting the plan for the first year of the 5-year period, many of our enterprises received their assignments without any figures for the initial 5-year period. Here and there some people "managed" to obtain plans with levels below that of 1985. They include the UralAZ, Zemstroydormash, Strommashina, the Chelyabinsk plants for tractor-trailers and automotive machinery, the Kasli Machine building plant and other oblast machine building enterprises. The same situation prevails in a number of metallurgical enterprises. In some cases, we had to contact personally the sectorial management and explain that such an approach nullifies the very concept of "intensification," for which reason no departmental apportionments could justify it. Today it is extremely important to join efforts. Let us consider the following situation:

The reconstruction of the Metallurgical Combine imeni V.I. Lenin in Magnitogorsk is a problem of prime importance to the oblast party organization. We believe that it should be considered such to anyone who will participate in the technical retooling of this enterprise, which accounts for 10 percent of the steel and rolled metal supplied to the country. However, it is not merely a matter of the share of this combine in domestic metallurgy. Magnitka is also the symbol of the labor, the military exploit of the Soviet people. Capital investments totaling about 1 billion rubles are planned for this construction complex. Equipment unique from the point of view of the quality of output, automation and ecological problems will be installed here. Radical improvements will be made in the city's social infrastructure.

Briefly, this is a truly unique problem and the methods to solve it should be equally unique. However, we must self-critically admit that we lost a great deal of time at the starting stage. The time was essentially wasted in fruitless conferences and meetings with subcontractors. Suffice it to say that 28 organizations under different administrations are participating in designing the complex. The second essential factor for the slowdown in the pace of the work was the clearly manifested desire of the machine builders to supply Magnitka not with what it needed but what was available, particularly at first. We had to begin by firmly defending the final objectives of the

reconstruction and protecting them from "erosion." As I mention this, I do not try to reduce the culpability of the party obkom for the slow start of this most important construction project. Many of our internal faults came to light here. However, they were substantially complicated by departmental lack of coordination among related agencies.

In order to surmount this difficult barrier, the party obkom turned to the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers with the request for a conference among heads of ministries and departments participating in the Magnitogorsk reconstruction. The conference, which was attended by the heads of seven sectors, was held last April. It was chaired by Ya.P. Ryabov, USSR Council of Ministers deputy chairman. It greatly advanced the solution of a number of basic problems and helped to reach an agreement on closer and more efficient cooperation. The results of this meeting were consolidated at the recently held obkom plenum, which was also attended by the representatives of the ministries. Now, when the working documents of the conference have already been initialed, we must dedicate all our efforts to the faster implementation of the instructions of the 27th CPSU Congress on perfecting economic management, so that it may function on a self-regulating basis, without constant administrative pressure.

I would also like to discuss a crucial and difficult problem, such as the financing of the oblast's social program. In accordance with the resolutions of the party congress, it should stipulate that each family would have its separate apartment and that cultural, medical and consumer services to the population will be further improved. The program will call for a significant increase in the volume of capital construction carried out by organizations under the jurisdiction of the oblast executive committee. We are trying to promote the maximal utilization of internal reserves for the implementation of this program. To this effect we are organizing in the oblast, through our own efforts, the production of low-grade cement and are planning to quintuple the production of building structures at enterprises under local management. Naturally, however, we cannot do without centralized capital investments. The further development of the Chelyabinsk city economy and the completion of no less than 40,000 square meters of housing annually in the oblast center are planned on the basis of our requirements. However, such extremely necessary measures threaten the implementation of the plans for the social development of the oblast as a whole.

The point is that the RSFSR Gosplan had already assigned us capital investment ceilings for the development of housing construction, the amount of which was significantly lower than the level of the 11th 5-Year Plan. These investments will enable us to build no more than 50,000 square meters of housing per year in the oblast. Considering that four-fifths of this volume will be for Chelyabinsk, as the plans stipulate, what will be left for the remaining 26 oblast cities, with a population of 1.9 million? As a rule, these are old Ural cities with two major features: a powerful industrial base and a backward social infrastructure. Let me cite a single example: in terms of consumer services per urban resident, the oblast is in 57th place in the Russian Federation. Understandably, without the substantial help of the state this situation cannot be improved. However, frankly, the RSFSR Gosplan leadership has adopted a formalistic stance: we shall allow you the



permissible amounts and shall ignore your arguments. The question is, who did this "allowing" and why? In our view, the amount of budget subsidies to one area or another should be based on the contribution of its working people to the national economic complex. In this case, the RSFSR Gosplan totally ignores this important criterion.

Briefly, whatever aspect of the current situation we may consider, whether reconstruction of existing enterprises, the development of the social area or upgrading production quality, the success of our initiatives directly depends on the coordinated efforts of ministries, departments and local organizations and the fastest possible elimination of a variety of bureaucratic barriers and obstructions. Let us consider the exceptionally grave problem of improving production quality. In the next few years the Chelyabinsk Tractor Plant intends to increase the service life of the machinery it produces from 7,000 to 10,000-12,000 hours and lower specific fuel and lubricant outlays to the level of the best similar world models. The Ural automobile manufacturers are fully resolved to earn for their truck one of the leading positions in the international motor vehicle market. Some basically new models are being mastered by the oblast metallurgical workers. Why, therefore, should not the USSR Ministry of Finance and USSR State Committee for Prices not stipulate as of now the economic steps which could efficiently encourage such work, which is extremely needed by the national economy? Is it not time to put an end to a situation in which frequently our administrative bodies are catching up with practical work instead of anticipating and, correspondingly, guiding it?

[Question] It was emphasized at one of the recent plenums of the Chelyabinsk Party Obkom that ensuring the dynamic development of agriculture is the special concern of the party members. As we know, no more than about 7 percent of the oblast population is engaged in agricultural production and many farms are located in the risk farming zone. What is being done today to implement the Food Program?

[Answer] The agrarian sector in the oblast economy consists of 247 sovkhoses, kolkhoses and poultry farms. They have more than 3 million hectares of arable land, millions of heads of cattle, 450,000 hogs and 550,000 sheep. I am quoting these figures so that your readers can have a specific idea of our rural potential. Estimates indicate that supplying the oblast population with basic animal husbandry products from local production facilities can be substantially improved. This, however, requires knowledgeable and energetic work. Although the 1981-1985 average annual volume of gross agricultural output exceeded the level reached during the 10th 5-Year Plan, the oblast was unable to meet the assignments of the Food Program for the production and sales of grain, meat and milk.

What was the reason? Naturally, the climate and the weather are exceptionally important factors. However, we should not ignore the human factor. Its effect may be explained, above all, by the situation in which substantial disparities may be found in the production indicators of two neighboring sovkhoses farming under equal circumstances. As to the machine-tractor fleet, quantitatively it meets the entire needs of the rural workers. If the quality of agricultural machinery is improved in the immediate future and the volume of hitched equipment is increased, the problem of technical facilities for

agricultural labor could be considered more or less solved. Capital investments in the social reconstruction of the countryside in the last 5-year period exceeded the volume of the preceding 5 years by approximately one-third. As a result, starting with 1983, a certain increase in the size of the oblast rural population has been noted. Nevertheless, the level of development of most farms remains low. Unquestionably, this is above all the result of the fact that in these subunits of the oblast agrocomplex the influence of the party organizations has been weakened; the party members have become less exigent toward the heads of sovkhozes and kolkhozes and tolerate a quite widespread phenomenon, such as the incompetence of specialists and their irresponsible attitude toward the work.

The obkom firmly intends to promote a change in the agrarian sector. To this effect, comprehensive programs have been formulated and are being implemented in the oblast for increasing grain production and upgrading the productivity of dairy farming. Recently additional steps were taken to develop the oblast's agriculture in the 12th 5-year period. Compared with the previous 5-year period, the average annual volumes of agricultural output must increase by nearly 25 percent between 1986 and 1990.

The oblast rural workers have someone to emulate. Let us take the Vostochnyy Sovkhoz as an example. This is a large grain-growing farm in our steppe area. The sovkhoz has been hit by drought every single year. However, thanks to the application of the zonal farming system, the use of progressive technologies and the skillful utilization of the fallow land, even in droughty years it harvests good wheat crops of strong and hard strains. The farm's successes were justifiably credited to its chief agronomist I.N. Shumkov. It was he who initiated the development of a soil protection farming system and, for a number of years, with the help of scientists, has engaged in perfecting it. As the result, the farm raises about 3 quintals of grain crops additionally per hectare every year.

Or else let us consider the Niva Sovkhoz. This farm was developed 18 months ago on the basis of the sovkhoz department which had been headed for many years by Hero of Socialist Labor N.Z. Chvelev. Today Chvelev is the director of the Niva Sovkhoz. Despite the difficulty of the period of organizational development of the farm, last year its grain crops averaged 29 quintals per hectare and the sovkhoz averaged 3,745 kilograms of milk per cow. In our area these are good indicators which earned the collective 243,000 rubles.

How was this young kolkhoz able to achieve high results? We believe that in this case Nikolay Zakharovich Chvelev's organizational and educational talents played a major role. Suffice it to look at the cow barn, with its most simple yet amazingly neat structure, well equipped with mechanization facilities, or else talk to the workers about their earning and housing, and one immediately realizes that the farm is in the hands of a modern manager, who skillfully combines in his work his knowledge of economics, technology and psychology.

Unfortunately, the oblast is very short of such sovkhoz directors and kolkhoz chairmen. For this we blame ourselves above all. At some point the obkom ignored the cadre situation in the countryside. There were real leap-frog appointments of managers and chief specialists in the lagging farms. Today

all efforts are being made to correct matters, for we realize that people, and their experience and capabilities are the most precious capital, difficult to replenish.

Let us say a few words on the new links in the management of the agroindustrial complex. Basically, the reorganization has been completed: an oblast APK committee has been set up along with rayon associations. The CPSU obkom has strengthened the decisive sectors with competent cadres, some of them former first secretaries of party raykoms. Essentially, however, the reorganization has only begun and the unsolved problems at the RAPO are significantly more than those already solved. Above all, the inertia of old customs and concepts is being felt strongly, together with the inability to think in terms of modern economic categories and to surmount group egotism entirely. The partners of the farmers and livestock breeders-- workers, and chemical, land reclamation and power personnel--are clearly in no hurry to reorganize their activities.... They still find it more comfortable and advantageous to operate within the existing economic mechanism. Tremendous work remains to be done to turn the agroindustrial associations into integral economic organisms.

[Question] Therefore, as first secretary of the CPSU Obkom you, Gennadiy Georgiyevich, are not entirely satisfied with the pace of the reorganization of party work in the oblast.

[Answer] The reorganization is not a one-time step which is easy to analyze and assess. It is a most complex process affecting all crucial aspects of oblast life. That is why there is always the danger of ignoring something important behind a general assessment. Nevertheless, should we decide to make such an assessment we should point out a certain dissatisfaction with the results of our work and its reorganization. I know that many members of the obkom buro, its secretaries and department heads, would agree with my assessment.

This is not an ostentatious modesty. A great deal has been accomplished. However, a hundred times more remains to be done. Daily practical experience today faces the party worker with problems to which he does not always find a solution. Many-faceted formalism, superficiality in decision making, inconsistency in practical actions and indifference hiding behind seeming activity, bureaucratic reverence of paper, and the desire to turn wishes into realities, are still being felt sharply. The lessons in truth which were taught to us in the post-April period by the Party Central Committee, teach every one of us to look at the complex and conflicting realities soberly, with no prejudice or illusion. This is no easy science.

As to the new forms of party work consistent with modern requirements, they appear and cannot fail to appear wherever the party members act persistently and inventively. I believe that a truly efficient form of party influence on reality cannot be invented by sitting behind a desk. It is born of the specific requirements of life itself. Such is the case with Zlatoust, where currently the work system of the CPSU Gorkom and raykoms with lagging enterprises is being checked. We are directing the party committees not to

engage in "papermaking" but in achieving end results--accelerating the socioeconomic development of labor collectives, rayons and cities.

In conclusion, let me turn again to the results of the work of the oblast industry in the first third of the year. These included indicators which I believe to be quite significant. As the result of strengthening order and discipline in production, the amount of goods undelivered to consumers declined in the oblast from 96.5 to 44.4 million rubles. The level of implementation of contractual procurements increased to 99.1 percent as against 98 percent in 1985. How to react to such results? Should we applaud this success? I am convinced that we have no right whatsoever to do so. It is true that reaching even the final percentage, which indicates the full satisfaction of social requirements for output produced by the oblast enterprises, is the most difficult and complex part. It is in this area that lack of order in relations among related enterprises and, on an even broader basis, the faults of the current economic mechanism, are manifested in their entire magnitude. However, we cannot do without reaching these final percentage figures. Therefore, we must use new possibilities of increasing the efficiency of economic activities and continue with the reorganization of party work and upgrade the combat capability of each party organization. Generally speaking, as Lenin taught us, "We must go forth and we must look ahead."

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## DUTY AND RIGHT OF THE JOURNALIST

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 8, May 86 (signed to press 21 May 86) pp 50-57

[Article by V. Vorobyev, editor of the newspaper SOVETSKIY TAYMYR]

[Text] The 27th Party Congress highly rated the activities of the mass information media. The primary tasks of the Soviet press, television and radio, based on the congress' resolutions, were discussed at meeting with the heads of the mass information and propaganda media, which was addressed by M.S. Gorbachev.

The increased attention which the CPSU Central Committee pays to the press, radio and television is natural, for it is precisely the mass information and propaganda media which largely shape public opinion. Naturally, we, journalists, must have our meaningful say on the tremendous work being done for the qualitative updating of all aspects of social life, initiated by the party. In order to accomplish this, we ourselves must learn how to think and work in a new fashion.

To us the lesson in truth given by the congress is also a lesson in professional honesty and civic courage, a lesson in party-mindedness, without which even the most needed and most impressive words become meaningless sounds. I am convinced that as we begin to reorganize our work, we must most of all get rid of a certain timidity in the face of the complex and contradictory reality. We must learn to analyze and depict it courageously, which means accurately and without embellishments.

Let us admit that we, journalists, have also had to do a great deal with the mass dissemination of negative phenomena such as ostentatiousness, showiness and formalism. Who among our colleagues is not familiar with the following situation: the moment some noteworthy event happens, the newspapers immediately open a rubric on "...proper welcome!" Virtually all such "welcomes" are accompanied by proclaiming a "shock labor watch." However, should labor be shock labor only during the period of preparations for the noteworthy event? Leafing through the local and even some central publications, we could reach the conclusion that the collectives work conscientiously, creatively and fast only on the eve of anniversaries.

Or else let us consider another quite widespread form of presentation of materials. The moment some event occurs in the life of a city, rayon, oblast or the country, a number of reactions appear in the newspapers. This would be

good had they been analytical, shedding light on the social experience of the masses and the "technology" of the struggle for high end results. Alas, frequently other styles are typical of such responses. Looking at one's newspaper several years later, one unwittingly must conclude that events may have been different but the responses to them were written in the same words. As a rule, it is always the same people who are the authors of such reactions. It turns out that we, journalists, have created this ideological cliché. Furthermore, we have also trained some of our people in the readiness to "respond" at any time with memorized sentences to any somewhat noticeable fact of social life.

Why is it that we so frequently come across in a variety of newspapers clumsy hack works which reek of insincerity and bureaucratic belief that anything printed is not subject to the readers' criticism and must be accepted on faith, as the ultimate truth? It seems to me that the reason for this is that we frequently ignore in our work the qualitative growth of the readership. In recent years, as sociological studies prove quite convincingly, the educated reader, familiar with economics and culture and, therefore, intolerant of verbiage, is obviously more frequently encountered than the passive consumer of printed goods. This type of new reader reacts quite sensitively to any falsehood and, having caught it, will pick up the next issue of the newspaper with a feeling of mistrust. Had we considered more frequently such basic changes in the readers, the general appeals, immoderate enthusiasms on the subject of most ordinary matters and actions, and hackneyed and inexpressive words with which we willy-nilly simplify the complex spiritual world of our contemporaries, and which set our teeth on edge, would have vanished faster from newspaper pages.

Today's reader is no longer satisfied with the painstaking enumeration of percentages of plan overfulfillments and assumed obligations. He wants and has the right to know the way in which these production successes were achieved. He must become convinced of the possibility that frontranking experience can be duplicated. He is no longer satisfied with a general criticism of shortcomings. He is interested in who specifically is to be blamed for shortcomings, what must be done and what should be eliminated. I would say that today the propaganda level of a newspaper is directly proportional to the level of analytical interpretation of reality which that newspaper provides to its readers. Without this, no mention of outstanding figures and facts would achieve its purpose.

Arguments on the practical application of the familiar Leninist view that the newspaper is a collective organizer frequently break out among journalists. Many of them believe that this important function of the press is entirely performed by the editors, who are actively expanding the organizational forms of their work. Actually, in recent years many such forms have appeared: sponsorship of new construction projects, round-table discussions, assignments, open-letter days, etc. Unquestionably, properly organized, all this is very useful and increases the popularity of a periodical. However, this gives us no right to forget that it is precisely the printed word that is our main tool and foremost way of organizing the masses.

In my view, today our writing is inefficient. Let us recall the extremely specific way in which the tasks of the press are enumerated in Lenin's article "On the Nature of Our Newspapers." "More on the economy," Vladimir Ilich wrote. "But not in the sense of 'general' discussions or scientific surveys, intellectual plans, and other petty matters which, unfortunately, are all too frequently precisely petty. No, we need economics in the sense of neatness, of a thorough investigation and study of the factors of the actual building of a new life. Are there real successes achieved by major factories, agricultural communes, committees of the poor, and local sovnarkhozes in building the new economy? What precisely are these successes? Have they been proved? Is there here no fabrications, boasting or intellectual promises ('matters are being organized,' 'the plan has been drafted,' 'we are launching efforts,' 'we now pledge,' 'unquestionable improvements,' and other tricky phraseology, of which 'we' are such masters)? How were successes achieved? How to make them greater?" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 37, p 90).

In the context of our current concerns related to the accelerated socioeconomic development of the country, Lenin's views on the need for a "practical and merciless, truly revolutionary war on the specific carriers of evil," "the education of the masses through the live and specific examples and models from all areas of life," and "paying attention to the common aspect of intrafactory and intrarural, intraregimental types of life, where the new is being built more than anywhere else, on which the greatest attention should be paid, along with the greatest publicity and public criticism and elimination of unsuitable factors, and where appeals to learn from the best should be made" sound extremely topical (Ibid., p 91).

Let us be honest: many of our publications which may appear sharp and topical leave the reader indifferent. Here the main culprits are the similarity of articles and standardized ways and topics which roam from issue to issue. By using a style which presumes a profound publicistic content, it is precisely that which we frequently somehow manage to forget, entirely relying on verbal tricks alone.

Whatever new organizational ways and means we may invent, unless the newspaper has its own specific feature and each of its contributors his own style, based not merely on the type of adjectives used or not used, but on the firmness and the activeness of a civic stance, no reliable feedback will be received from the readers. The contemporary reader respects and values a publication which discusses problems with him honestly and convincingly, without smoothing over sharp angles.

Where to begin? This question must have faced all editors after the 27th CPSU Congress, including our collective. After long considerations and debates we reached the conclusion that in addition to many other steps the time had come to assert in practice the new approach in describing our contemporaries, the working people. The sad fact is that of late a good essay on an interesting and instructive person has become a rarity in our press. It has been firmly replaced by the dry, inexpressive "industrial" sketch in which technological processes and technical and economic indicators have replaced the thoughts of the people and their actions and relations. The result is that we find, issue

after issue, some anonymous individual, somehow squeezed within a fictitious framework, reminding us more of a robot than a living person. Yet present-day life adamantly awaits and expects its hero--the sober romantic, armed with knowledge and ideas, realistically interpreting events around him, able to find a solution to even the most difficult situation. Such purposeful and active characters have always been the boosters of progress. Naturally, they exist today as well and their ranks are swelling substantially. It is precisely through their work and their example that a newspaper should bring to light the content of the strategy of acceleration and describe its practical implementation.

It is true that in this case we face yet another professional danger, the avoidance of which is by no means always possible. We frequently put in the mouths of our characters words they never said or thoughts they never expressed. All of this is the fruit of our hasty and frequently quite poor imagination. Furthermore, on the basis of our own sometimes superficial observations and accidentally heard views, we teach builders how to build, milkmaids how to milk the cows and fishermen how to fish, giving little thought to the fact that the benefits of such instructions are quite meager. M.S. Gorbachev noted at his meeting with heads of mass information and propaganda media, last March, that "The newspapers and television and radio broadcasts should express the pulse-beat of life itself and the working people must describe in their own words the new features of our reality and their concerns and thoughts." I believe that this requirement must become basic for all editors and creative workers, and one of the main criteria in rating journalistic activities.

Unquestionably, mass information media workers must work hard so that under contemporary conditions they may justify their purpose as collective propagandists, agitators and organizers. However, it would be wrong to assume that in this case everything depends on the journalists only. There is yet another mandatory condition without which no noticeable success in newspaper activities would be possible: the efficient guidance of the publication by the party committee whose organ it is. The professional standard of the paper, its combativeness and its reputation among the readers greatly depend on the strength of the ties between the party committee and the editors.

I know from numerous talks with colleagues that in many areas this problem remains topical. "Extreme" means of solving it have long been known and put to daily use. Fearing accusations of petty supervision, some party raykoms virtually do not interfere in editorial affairs. In such cases raykom and editors lead lives apart. The opposite may also happen, when literally every step taken by the journalists is watched. They are ordered to coordinate all critical materials and editors are blamed for even petty errors. The consequence is that despite the entire difference between such "methods" in managing the press, the results are roughly the same: a drastic weakening of the role of the local press and of the sociopolitical life of the area.

The newspaper is the organ of the party committee as a whole rather than of any one of its departments. Therefore, I fully agree with G.V. Kolbin, first secretary of the Ulyanovsk CPSU Obkom, who emphasized the following in his interview granted to the journal ZHURNALIST (October 1985): "...There are



some things which no manager has the right to farm out. One of them is the newspaper. Whatever I may be told, I am convinced that if the director of plants shows concern for the plant's newspaper only good can come of it; everyone else would do the same! The same applies to the rayon."

Our party's Central Committee firmly opposes any belittling of the role of mass information and propaganda media, believing that true party leadership has nothing in common with petty supervision, unnecessary supervision of daily editorial work or neglect of practical cooperation with journalistic collectives. Practical experience indicates that unskilled interference in editorial matters substantially lowers the efficiency and quality of the work and responsibility of the journalist. Total "organizational separation" of concerns of the party committee and the editors is equally harmful.

As far as our newspaper is concerned, it is closely cooperating with all subdivisions of the okrug CPSU committee, working together with it in solving party organization problems. It is our common view that this most important principle of editorial work must be comprehensively strengthened and improved. Unquestionably, this will contribute to the increased efficiency of journalistic work.

We are doing everything possible to strengthen the tradition of direct initiative-minded participation of okruzhkom leading personnel in the creative concerns of the editors. They have contributed many topical and "active" rubrics and articles on topical subjects to the pages of SOVETSKIY TAYMYR. Some of their initiatives marked the beginning of newspaper campaigns which yielded substantial practical results. Thus, the "Thrift Press-Reid," which was initiated by the editors on the suggestion of the industrial transportation department, started the okrug's socialist competition for economy and thrift. At its final stage, some 70 labor collectives in Taymyr worked during the last 2 days of 1985 with saved material and power resources.

Many of the articles written by the journalists are drafted jointly with the personnel of the party okruzhkom. Let me cite as an example the quarterly reviews of the activities of industrial and agricultural enterprises and monthly reports of seminars by correspondence for party organization secretaries and personnel of local soviets. The okruzhkom personnel publish articles and comments in the newspaper. In 1985 alone SOVETSKIY TAYMYR published more than 50 articles by party workers on a great variety of problems of okrug sociopolitical and economic life.

In turn, the newspaper contributors actively participate in all measures sponsored by the CPSU okruzhkom. There is virtually no single plenum or buro meeting in the preparation for which a journalist does not participate. Practical experience indicates that this does not hinder their work in the least but, conversely, helps us always to be in the thick of events and to live with the concerns of the okrug party organization. The okrug party committee itself considers this form of work beneficial, for after a decree on some problem has been passed, constant supervision over its implementation is needed. It is at this point that the journalists and workers' and rural correspondents come to the aid of the party committee. The rubric "The Decree

Has Been Passed. How Is it Being Implemented?" has become a regular and very popular feature of this newspaper.

Regular press conferences at which journalists exchange views with the first secretary of the okrug party committee on various okrug problems and obtain complete information on the state of affairs in various economic sectors in Taymyr have become traditional. Such meetings are quite useful to our journalists: many practical good-quality articles have appeared in SOVETSKIY TAYMYR, on topics originated at such press conferences.

As we know, the aspect of a newspaper is largely determined by discussions of crucial problems. This helps to eliminate shortcomings. Let us immediately stipulate, however, that the publication of a critical article in itself cannot solve a problem. The effectiveness of the printed word decisively depends on the persistent joint efforts of party workers and journalists in making newspaper articles effective. Without the systematic and decisive support of the party committees, a gap between words and deeds inevitably opens in one of the most important areas of ideological work. A newspaper without such articles is no longer a combat assistant of the party organization. Its reputation among the readership declines drastically. All of these are old truths. However, their practical implementation is of no simple matter. In this case we must invariably proceed from Lenin's stipulations and party decrees which demand of the party committees to provide all-round principle-minded support of press articles and develop in leading cadres the ability properly to accept criticism, to draw the necessary conclusions from it and efficiently to inform the readers of the steps which were taken. The CPSU Central Committee resolutions on the newspapers VOZDUSHNYY TRANSPORT and VODNYY TRANSPORT orient us toward surmounting cases of gross bureaucratic administration and suppression of criticism, as well as subordinating the activities of printed matter to narrow departmental and parochial interests.

A journalist who undertakes to write a critical article needs more than simple civic courage. His zeal as a political journalist must be backed by the confidence that neither the editors nor the party committee will abandon him to deal by himself with all possible opponents. Only then can one hope for a successful completion of any initiated project.

Let me cite a practical example involving our editorial board. As we know, the largest population of wild reindeer, some half-a-million strong, inhabits the Taymyr. In order to control this population, it was scientifically recommended to shoot as many as 100,000 deer annually. For many years, however, this was not done and reindeer hunting was inefficient. Results were minor and even the low output was frequently lost. The meat was not promptly removed from the hunting centers. The collecting of subproducts, pelts, horns and other reindeer-industry products was not organized. It was precisely this topic which was taken up by the newspaper in the article "Reindeer Industry Efficiency," a discussion of which was held at the joint session of the bureau of the Taymyr party okruzhkom and the executive committee of the okrug soviet. This resulted in the formulation of a comprehensive plan for improving the organization of the hunting of wild reindeer and processing the output, for the period between 1981 and 1985. The party, soviet and economic bodies

participated in its implementation. In turn, the newspaper regularly informed the readers on the results. Together with the people's controllers, the journalists investigated the organization of this industry, covered the experience of the best hunting brigades and popularized the production of consumer goods from this industry.

This too place 5 years ago. Today, one can say with full justification that the program has been essentially carried out. In 1985 alone 85,000 reindeer were killed, and more than 60 percent of their meat was classified as first grade. The collection of byproducts for the okrug farms raising animals for pelts was organized. The annual output of consumer goods, such as souvenirs, hats, shoes, etc., reached 3.5 million rubles. Naturally, not all problems in the reindeer-hunting industry have been solved. However, the prospects in this area are very optimistic. We are not bothered in the least by the fact that some participants in this major common project are unaware of the fact that the prime incentive was provided by this newspaper.

Let us point out for the sake of fairness that of late the attitude toward criticism in the press has been changing for the better. Party, soviet and economic bodies have begun to react more efficiently to critical articles. However, the changes which please the journalists still relate more to the form than the essence of problems. Formal replies remain numerous: steps may have been taken but the necessary things were not done. Furthermore, the editors must work hard to elicit answers to their articles!

As early as 1919, the resolution passed at the 8th Party Congress "On Party and Soviet Press," stipulated that any institution or individual criticized in the press must "publish in that same newspaper within the shortest possible time, a practical actual rebuttal or else indicate that shortcomings and errors have been corrected. In the absence of such a rebuttal or stipulation, the revolutionary tribunal must instigate a case against the individuals or establishment named." Decades later, what is the situation? Many administrative units have developed a firm "defensive" attitude toward criticism. Few editors can say that the individuals named in their critical articles respond without reminders. Alas, no answer is received unless an official request is filed, using a special form. Frequently such requests must be filed repeatedly.

Have many managers been taken to task for ignoring press articles, for formal bureaucratic replies or red tape in the consideration of the complaints and suggestions of working people? Today the prosecution of culprits is quite difficult. It is much easier to turn a correspondent into a defendant. There still are managers who ask for an advance look at articles criticizing their establishment, organization or department, and who complain to the party about the newspaper. I know how damaging this is to newspaper work. Only a few years ago the editors had to take up their own defense and prove their accuracy and substantiation whenever a critical article appeared. This was eventually done, but took a great deal of effort and severely damaged the reputation of the printed organ of the party committee!

Now all of it is in the past. The Taymyr CPSU Okruzhkom firmly blocks efforts to "influence" the critical tone of an article. This has somewhat cooled off

the zeal of excessively ardent managers, who are trying to save the "honor of the uniform" by all possible means. Alas, however, such attempts have not come to an end. Naturally, this does not occur in our okrug alone. The central publications offer many convincing proofs of the fact that the question of developing a proper attitude toward criticism remains crucial. One unwittingly asks himself why, actually, should a regular contributor or a voluntary activist who has published a critical article then has to find himself in the role of a defendant? A paradoxical situation has developed: journalists are constantly called upon decisively to expose shortcomings. However, the moment they do that they must spend a great deal of effort to justify their right to criticize. It is no accident that in our professional circle voices are being increasingly heard on the need to pass a law which would accurately regulate the obligations of a press worker and would protect his rights, including the right to criticize.

The recent CPSU Central Committee decree "On the Article 'How Much to Shoulder?'," which was published in PRAVDA's 20 April 1986 issue, is a lesson in the Leninist principle-minded attitude toward a critical article in the press, and is of exceptional importance in terms of its consequences. Having considered the actions of the party buro of the Irbit Chemical-Pharmaceutical Plant, which created a conflict situation in the collective, persecuted a communist-innovator and grossly violated the norms of party life, the CPSU Central Committee strictly punished the culprits. It called for ensuring that each primary party organization, living in an atmosphere of creative search, actively support progressive initiatives and rebuff anyone who obstructs them.

In connection with meeting the assignments which were set to the press after the 27th Party Congress, the problems of staffing local newspapers, ensuring their material and technical supplies, improving printing facilities and the training of journalistic cadres become very urgent. Let us point out that the decrees "On Further Improving the Activities of Rayon and City Newspapers" and "On Measures to Strengthen the Material and Technical Foundations for Joint, Okrug, Rayon and City Newspapers," which were passed in recent years by the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers, are being implemented sluggishly.

Let me mention briefly the question of training and molding journalism cadres. The public prestige of the journalistic profession has been traditionally high. However, it would be wrong to assume that the acknowledgment of our labor by society automatically excludes any difficulties in finding suitable people for this important and necessary work.

SOVETSKIY TAYMYR has never lacked cadres, for this is the Extreme North, which means wage coefficients and supplements for living in the north, and the polar space which attracts young people.... In a word, we regularly receive job applications and can be selective. However, of late most of the applications are from VUZ coeds. Girls account for the bulk of the students at VUZ journalism departments, which means that journalism is increasingly becoming a woman's profession. This is hardly normal. The work of a correspondent involves greater nervous stress, an irregular work day and lengthy assignments, not to mention the hardship of working in the Extreme North.

We believe that the time has come to strengthen more reliably business contacts between higher schools and the editorial boards of newspapers and journals, radio and television, and convert from training journalists with a "generalist" specialization, which frequently means no specialization, to "orders for cadres" placed by mass information and propaganda media. Nothing prevents us from trying, albeit experimentally, new ways and means of training journalism cadres, in ways better suited to meet practical requirements.

Every summer students from the department of journalism of Moscow State University come to our newspaper for practical training. These are good and efficient young people. Many of them we could hire. However....we find out after awhile that some have been hired by TASS, others by APN, and others again by a central newspaper. Who then is left to work for a regional newspaper, where already now the personnel situation is such that we are happy to get tenth-grade graduates who come to us straight from secondary school?...

From the windows of our editorial room we can see the piers of the Dudinka sea port, where five former newspaper contributors, professional journalists, are employed. They work as stevedores, with no stress and assignments to the tundra and earn several hundred percent more than their former colleagues. Furthermore, improved housing, kindergartens and other important goods and services are much more accessible to them than to newspaper personnel. Understandably, in the case of people without a firm vocation and without a deeply felt sense of duty, material considerations will always have priority. I therefore do not appeal to such "deserters" to come back. However, journalistic work cannot be sustained merely by enthusiasm. It is true that something has already been done in this direction but, obviously, by no means everything....

Today, journalists are living in a very interesting time, like the rest of the country. The program for restructuring our professional activities as well must be defined by principle-minded party stipulations, calling for more specific practical action, daring initiative and fewer meaningless words and enthusiastic exclamations.

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CSO:1802/14

## In My Opinion...From Letters to the Editor

### TO CONSIDER NATURAL FACTORS MORE FULLY

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 8, May 86 (signed to press 21 May 86) pp 58-59

[Letter to the editor by M. Lomakin, candidate of agricultural sciences, Kursk]

[Text] In my opinion, in order significantly to upgrade the efficiency and stability of socialist agriculture we must teach our cadres, more than is being done today, to take into consideration natural factors in practical farming, and to implement more persistently and consistently a broad, scientific set of measures aimed at increasing soil fertility, applying intensive crop-growing technologies and soil protection methods and taking antierosion steps. We must ensure the implementation of the Food Program not at any cost but by increasing the fertility of the arable land.

This formulation of the problem is dictated by the fact that the land is a unique means of production, nonrecoverable and totally irreplaceable. It takes from 300 to 1,000 or more years, given differences in natural conditions, for the humus, the fertile soil stratum, to grow by no more than 2-2.5 centimeters. A heavy downpour or an intensive spring flood could deprive the field of its 5-centimeter cover. Wind erosion with its strong dust storms can cause even greater damage.

The history of human civilization is familiar with many instructive examples of the way careless farming has led to irreversible destructive processes in nature. The notorious Sahara was once an intensive farming area. The people who grew here their daily bread, judging by all available information, farmed in violation of natural laws, for which they had to pay a stiff price. The same could be said of the Asian deserts.

Technical progress and improvements in the farmer's work tools did not halt the spreading of erosion. In some cases they even contributed to it. Uncontrolled farming in the United States in the 1930s led as we know, to tremendous losses in land resources: 20 of the 167 million hectares of arable land were totally destroyed and more than 40 million hectares lost more than one-half of their upper soil stratum.

Our own agriculture developed under exceptionally difficult weather and climatic conditions, experiencing the destructive impact of water and wind erosion. Furthermore, a significant percentage of the arable land in our country is located on slopes with a gradient of more than 1 degree. In the Central-Chernozem area, where the richest humus soils in the world are concentrated, the destructive power of water has been particularly high. Here there are from 1 to 3 kilometers of ravines per 100 hectares of arable land.

If we were to string in a single file all ravines in Saratov Oblast alone, their length would exceed 30,000 kilometers. Arable land has been hurt to an equal extent in neighboring oblasts. Every year between 80 and 120 tons of plowed land per hectare is being carried away during the thawing of the snow and the rains. Nothing matches this type of loss. In any case, the fertility of the fields located near ravines lower by a factor of 1.5-2 compared with flat areas.

Wind erosion extends over a vast area as well. It has even reached the moist areas in Belorussia and the Central Nonchernozem. Briefly stated, it is difficult to find a parcel of cultivated land which has not been subjected to a greater or lesser extent to the destructive effect of wind and water.

One is inevitably worried today by mechanical erosion. The dynamic load of labor tools in areas of intensive farming has reached critical thresholds. Soil scientists keep demanding at various agronomy conferences, "Use less wheels in cultivating the fields! Crop-growing technology everywhere must be such as to protect the soil."

It is no accident that of late social interest in plowless cultivation of the land, which helps to restore soil fertility, has increased. Traditional plowing disturbs the soil structure and is the basis of erosion processes. A trend toward reducing the number of cultivations (during the farming season) has become characteristic as a whole of industrial technologies which have a great future.

Methods to protect the chernozem and for the rational utilization of natural precipitations were developed by the end of the 19th century by V.V. Dokuchayev and his followers. Visitors to the Scientific Research Agricultural Institute for the Central-Chernozem Belt (Kamennaya Step) are unable to conceal their admiration at nature here. A previously semi-desert area has been turned into a real oasis. This is a splendid illustration of the theoretical concepts of this outstanding scientist. Briefly, the essence of this feat is that the farmer himself can create favorable farming conditions.

This has been confirmed by more than 60 years of work at the Novosil Experimental-Ravine Studies Station (today the Agro-Forest Reclamation Experimental Station imeni A.S. Kozmenko), one of the oldest scientific research institutions of its type in the country and the world, which concentrated from its very start on the total study of anti-erosion reclamation problems. Based on A.S. Kozmenko's scientific legacy, his students and followers developed and tested steps to protect the soil from degradation. Their pace of application, however, is lagging far behind Food

Program requirements.

Naturally, scientific recommendations and advice do not always fit the requirements of day-to-day farming. Nevertheless, whatever the circumstances, the field technologist should not forget his personal responsibility for the condition of the land entrusted to him. Unfortunately, this elementary truth is frequently ignored. This is due to specific reasons. Talks with young agronomists indicate that most specialists have a very vague idea of the latest means for controlling the wind and water dynamics of the landscape. This is by no means an accidental misunderstanding. It is the result of the unsatisfactory training of specialists in agrarian technology.

The new edition of the party program stipulates, for the first time, that resource conservation becomes a decisive source of meeting the increased need of the national economy for fuel, energy, raw materials and materials. This strongly urges us to consider current farming methods and, correspondingly, training aids for agronomists and other agricultural specialists.

To the field technologist soil science is basic. The future agronomist, while still a student, must develop a clear idea of the properties and possibilities of the principal means of production--the soil. He must learn how to protect this priceless gift of nature and multiply its wonderful power, as we were taught by our great agronomists.

The problem of soil-conservation farming has not been ignored by the scientists and thousands of works have been published on the subject. Nevertheless, the topic of soil protection is either ignored or is, at best, superficially treated in VUZ farming and soil-science courses. Unfortunately, this shortcoming is also typical of textbooks on crop growing.

As early as 1967 the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers passed the decree "On Urgent Measures for the Protection of the Soil From Wind and Water Erosion." It would have been logical to expect that editors and authors, guided by this decree, would make the necessary changes in the respective textbooks and training aids. This, however, did not happen. The mechanism for preserving farmland from the destructive processes of wind and water, intensified under the conditions of an insufficiently flexible agrotechnology, remain essentially unexplained in textbooks on crop growing, which came out after the decree. Erosion is treated briefly, in general terms, even in otherwise adequate soil-science textbooks. As a rule, they do not discuss the dialectics of the numerous erosion processes taking place in the different soil and climatic zones. One can only regret that along with very useful means, it is recommended to the future specialists to apply sometimes ineffective and obsolete means for protecting the land. Let us recall in this connection the wise statement by V.V. Dokuchayev, the coryphaeus of Russian agricultural thinking: "In nature everything is beautiful; all enemies of agriculture, such as winds, storms, droughts and dry winds, we consider terrible only because of our inability to control them. They are not evil; they must be studied and we must learn how to control them, at which point they would work for us."



The soil scientists claim that in the past 30 to 40 years the chernozems of the Middle-Russian fields have lost one-third of their humus reserve. In my view, this is partially the fault of the authors and compilers of agronomy textbooks. Agronomists need the type of textbooks which would be imbued, from beginning to end, with the noble idea of soil protection. It is my profound conviction that this is not only their strictly professional duty but their direct civic duty as well.

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## PRICE OF IRRESPONSIBILITY

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 8, May 86 (signed to press 21 May 86) p 60

[Letter to the editor by N. Grabekin, drill operator]

[Text] In my opinion, in frequent cases our attitude toward the utilization of new expensive equipment is frequently remains irresponsible. Let me cite the example of the section where plates for direct-current crane motors are machined.

About a year ago, new machine tools of the "Processing Center" model, produced at the Leningrad Machine-Tool Building Association imeni Ya.M. Sverdlov, were installed at the Dinamo Plant. This equipment is very modern and expensive. Six machine tools are worth about 1.5 million rubles, which exceeds the price of manually controlled machine tools by a factor of almost 30.

They procured the new equipment, poured the cement for the foundations and only then began to mull things over. The problem is that the productivity of such machines tools is several hundred percent lower than that of the old ones. Whereas we can process between 10 and 11 plates with our old tools, we can process only three with the new.

A gross error was made. Machine tools of the "Processing Center" type are for the machining of semi-finished high-precision items whereas the plates we receive come with substantial margins of tolerance. Many of the perforations which are processed with the new machine tools must be welded and drilled anew. Furthermore, not all perforations in the plate (as many as 60) but only some of them can be drilled in the new plates. This means that a plate must be put back on a manually-controlled machine tool. The result is that no more than 15 percent of the new equipment is used. Each new machine tool must be serviced no longer by one but by an average of two people. Instead of having "unmanned technology," more people have had to be hired.

It is not a question of tuning up the machine tools, for in this case no tuning can help. The sight is pitiful. The box of the new machine tools is for 50 different types of tools. At best, three are used. This is very damaging to the state. However, no one bears responsibility for it although someone should, for otherwise we cannot bring our own house in order.

Unfortunately, this is not an isolated example. We frequently read in the press about such blunders. In his Togliatti speech, M.S. Gorbachev, our party's general secretary, spoke of the responsibility for making technical decisions in enterprise reconstruction. It is time for us to organize matters in such a way that a specific individual would be held responsible for each such blunder, so that he, rather than the state, would have to pay for such errors.

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CSO:1802/14

## EVERYTHING WITHIN MAN--EVERYTHING FOR MAN

### SOCIAL INITIATIVES AND INDEPENDENT ACTION OF THE MASSES

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 8, May 86 (signed to press 21 May 86) pp 61-71

[Article by O. Yanitskiy, doctor of philosophical sciences]

[Text] Initiative, a creative approach, and the desire and ability to work in a new way are demands of the time which we usually apply to production. In reality, the more widespread the new technologies and intensive economic management methods become, the greater will be the demand for people who are active, creative and psychologically prepared to deal with the process of acceleration. However, the acceleration of socioeconomic development is not only a technical and professional but a comprehensive social problem. The new edition of the CPSU Program emphasizes that it is inseparably related to upgrading the role of the human factor in all realms of social life. Thoughts and aspirations blend in the person. Not only at work but in any situation in life the initiative-minded person persistently seeks possibilities of creative work and the use of his experience and knowledge. He would like to have possibilities of cultural growth and feel the happiness of communicating with others and experience the satisfaction of performed duty.

Human activities in the area customarily described as "nonproduction," as though putting it into the background, is a tremendous incentive in acceleration and, at the same time, a field of implementation of such aspirations. Essentially, it is a question of the entire social and cultural area in which the habits of intensive work, the ability to look at even most ordinary matters in a new way, and persistence in reaching objectives are developed. The social initiatives of Soviet people, precisely as citizens and members of the socialist society, play a special role in the development of such qualities.

Our country offers tremendous opportunities for such initiatives and individuals are using them increasingly, as they make substantial contributions to managing the state and the enterprises and promoting the activities of local soviets, trade union and Komsomol organizations, voluntary societies and creative associations. However, that which has been and is being accomplished can no longer be assessed with the yardsticks of yesterday; the people's creative and independent nature of social organizations, as was emphasized at the 27th Party Congress, is by no means used to its fullest extent. Civic initiative and responsibility must be increased. Here as well the new forms of independent activities of the masses and their own initiatives, especially in the realm of social reproduction, assume the greatest possible significance.

What is the essence of these initiatives, and why is it precisely now that they draw our attention and must be studied and supported? The realm of social initiatives is expanding with literally every passing day, involving environmental protection, the quality of life in the cities, problems of youth housing and recreation, transportation, trade and consumer services, the communal economy, upbringing and education, "problem" children and adolescents, problems of interaction between science and production and many others. Some initiatives are difficult to describe, for they appear at points where the interests of the population and many organizations intersect, which makes them comprehensive and many faceted. Essentially, today there is no "problem area" they leave unaffected.

Initiatives may be of local, national or global importance, expressing the interest of a group, a collective or society as a whole, and may apply to society or nature. In all cases, however, these are actions undertaken by society itself and in its interest, regardless of the profession, age or class affiliation of those who initiate them. Thus, the initiators of large-scale environmental protection initiatives may be biologists; the creation of family clubs may be the project of workers and pensioners; the establishment of youth residential complexes and application firms, operating on a voluntary basis, may be the initiative of young workers and specialists; setting up amateur museums and voluntary brigades for helping those who restore architectural monuments may involve the work of art experts, engineers, the retired, etc. The civic interest shown by the Soviet people and their concern for unsolved social, economic and other problems rally the participants in initiatives around specific projects.

Closely linked with that is another distinguishing feature of civic initiative: its openness and universal significance. "Enter, good man;" "our club is open to all," "please come in," are names given to such projects by those who initiate them. Initially, the idea of organizing youth housing complexes was formulated by young people in several cities. Today it has become nationwide and gained the support of the 27th CPSU Congress. "From small rivers to big life" is the slogan of the most widespread ecological movement in the country today, supported by tens of thousands of people, with its own program approved by the the Environmental Protection Commission of the RSFSR Council of Ministers Presidium. The movement started very modestly, "from the very bottom," as the saying goes, when the population of several villages, in the area where Voronezh Tambov and Lipetsk oblasts meet, concerned by the situation of the local rivers, held a peasant rally. Here is another example: voluntary student environmental protection units are being organized by the students themselves, for which reason, naturally, they are influenced by the age and psychological characteristics of that group. Essentially, however, their activities are of a national nature, for they are aimed at preserving our common heritage. All of this proves that such initiatives are a factor in the shaping of the most important social qualities of man and his development as a personality. Unquestionably, they are also an

expression of the reality of direct democracy, which embodies Lenin's idea of the socialist self-management of the people.

Nevertheless, attention to the theoretical aspect and practical support of such initiatives remain obviously insufficient. In theory, the need for "grass roots" initiatives and self-organization of social activeness have been encouraged. However, their actual experience has been studied little or on an extremely confined basis, essentially as mass "campaigns of public aid" to the activities of local soviets. The fact that the ordinary awareness of the people and of their closest surroundings directly influence their social activeness and life stance was underestimated for a long time. We must point out that the significance of such activeness in the reproduction of the most important social qualities of man has been clearly belittled until recently. Equally ignored was the fact that today, under the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution, the meaning of "local life" has sharply changed and is becoming the focal point of general processes--technological, social and ecological--with every passing day. The potential of the public is still frequently considered in the practice of economic and local authorities as some kind of additional and free reserve of manpower for the implementation of one plan or another. Social initiatives are being restrained by dozens of obsolete regulations and instructions, and insufficient legislative support is given to joint activities by initiative groups and state organizations. That is why we must look more closely at the conditions under which such initiatives and their dynamics take shape.

As is the case with other types of activities based on voluntary principles, the sources of initiatives vary. In some cases, voluntary social groups are contributing to the fastest possible solution of the problems of production, service and other organizations. For example, the population's need for recreation and tourism areas has been increasing so rapidly in recent years that the state has been unable to develop corresponding institutions and create recreation zones, therefore resorting to the help of the public in organizing such areas, watching over natural and cultural monuments, etc.

In other cases, the population's initiatives are manifested and determined by problems which are already developing and which mobilize public opinion. This creates the economic, social and organization prerequisites for their solution. The increased complexity of the functional and organizational structure of socialist society occasionally leads to the development of a type of "niches" (territories, projects) which have been left outside the control of such organizations for one reason or another. For example, in the course of changing the administrative-economic boundaries of cities and settlements, some of their areas or structures become "ownerless:" one organization has written them off while another has not yet accepted them, or else the process of transferring ownership is underway, etc. In some instances, as has been the case now with a number of urban parks, there is a nominal manager but matters have been neglected to the extreme and the territory has become degraded.

The activities of the public become greatly enhanced also as a result of shortcomings in economic and cultural construction, long delays in the development of the network of sociocultural amenities, lagging behind the needs of the people, environmental pollution, excessive overorganization of

cultural life (youth life in particular), and the bureaucratic and inefficient nature of some departments and organizations whose job it is to satisfy the population's daily needs.

It would be incorrect, however, to make it appear that if greater order is introduced in economic and cultural construction social initiatives in our country would decline. It is wrong to consider social activeness only as a reaction to shortcomings or as means of reacting efficiently. Conversely, the faster society advances, the broader will become the area of initiative and self-management. Furthermore, social initiatives, let us particularly emphasize this, are a means of considerable acceleration of scientific and technical and social progress, for the labor and social enthusiasm of the people is combined here with professional knowledge and is based on primarily direct human contacts, which bypass the multiple stages which must be crossed before something new can be introduced. All ideas, suggestions and plans which are formulated are nothing other than the live creativity of the people.

Unquestionably, another sort of "initiatives" has still not been eliminated from society, stemming from people with clearly manifested private-ownership aspirations. In the final account, such activeness pursues selfish or criminal objectives, for which reason the importance of the public in the struggle against it is exceptionally great. People with high civic qualities are always intolerant of any manifestation of evil and social injustice and, which is equally important, help with their own concern to remove the grounds for such antisocial phenomena.

Combined with the people's knowledge and convictions, the creative nature of their plans and actions are a prerequisite for the development of social initiatives. This is a mass form of initiatives on the part of the people and a means of their social life and self-assertion as individuals, with all of their subjective inclinations and needs. The reasons which motivate Soviet citizens to formulate initiatives and directly participate in their implementation may be classified into two groups.

The first is based on a developed civic consciousness, a people's awareness of their individual responsibility for involving themselves with society and nature. The socially significant objectives formulated by the promoters of such initiatives, as we pointed out, are extremely varied. However, the distinguishing feature of a contemporary initiative is the broadened temporal framework of social activeness and the increased interest of its organizers and participants in the past and future of their country and the world at large.

More than 25,000 people are already taking part in the nationwide project of writing chronicles of the Great Patriotic War. Thousands of others are working on bringing together relatives divided by the war. Under the guidance of party and Komsomol veterans, "red pathfinders" are seeking the graves of the fallen in that war and time after time are tracking the whereabouts of those missing in action. The creation of village museums--a seemingly most modest initiative--has also turned out to have a great deal to do with a project of civic importance, which is expanding the "people's memory" and, also related to the destiny of specific individuals.

The concern shown for the firmness of ties with the country's past, history and culture, and work "for the future" do not mean in the least that such initiatives are exclusively of a mass, of a nationwide nature. These long-range interests are also directly related to the present, to the actual fate of cities, settlements and specific individuals. That is why the emphasis put today by many scientists on the term "settling down" is no accident. A number of objective reasons, including the scale of our country, the need to develop new areas in Siberia and the Far East, the fast development of urbanization and technical means of mobility and even some features of the national character, have contributed to the fact that for a long time what was "too far" and "too high" was conceived by many to be much more important than the life of a city or village where they had been born and raised. Today a process of secondary development of the environment, "grass roots growth," and the development of a cultural settling down has been initiated and is extremely necessary from the viewpoint of the intensification of the country's socioeconomic development. The cultural environment, in the words of Academician D.S. Likhachev, is needed by man for the sake of his "spiritual settling down," moral discipline and social belonging.

The more clearly a person realizes that the character of his children and their attitude toward labor and moral, ideological and cultural values, toward the entire complex of most important human qualities, are shaped through the interaction of the family, the school and the labor collective, the faster the value of his immediate surroundings increases. The quality of this environment "here and now," and concern for preserving the unique feature of his "small homeland" are as socially necessary as the aspiration to reach distant objectives.

The second group of reasons which motivate the citizens to engage in initiatives is found in the very nature of the latter. To a certain extent, participation in such initiative compensates for the still extant insufficiently creative element in daily work, in unskilled work above all. This applies most of all to workers and employees, young people in particular, who are professionally and emotionally oriented toward intensive creative labor. We sometimes hear that the job does not always offer conditions for creative work. A person should go to a public rationalization bureau or technical club. People do. However, we cannot ignore the fact that invention work in a bureau, a circle or a club and, let us say, participation in the activities of an association such as the Fakel Komsomol-Youth Application Firm, which is has operated for a number of years in Novosibirsk, are by no means one and the same. The latter has developed into a practical undertaking which has given the state no less than 50 million rubles' worth of profits. The more realistic a project became, the more independence and responsibility were displayed and the more the young people worked at maximum capacity. In the language of theory, "involvement" in social life among the members of such a collective was much higher than usual. However, this did not exhaust creative resources but, conversely, harnessed and increased them.

Autonomous initiatives lead to developed and meaningful contacts among their participants. There is a lack of human intercourse (more contacts with lesser satisfaction). People still talk of "filling the leisure time." However, that is when they imagine leisure time as some kind of vessel which can be



filled only from within through the interesting and intensive activities of the people themselves. This demands a socially significant objective, an area for contacts and inner activities of the heart, the mind and the emotions. No new technological developments can replace the joy of human contacts. The more intensively scientific and technical progress develops, the greater will become the need of the people for meaningful and emotionally saturated intercourse among themselves and between them and nature.

Psychoemotional results are attained, although imperceptible to the outside observer, in the course of the many voluntary initiatives. Some people gain friends and support. Others fill their emotional need for contacts in the course of their work, in pursuing occupations they like or simply relaxing, "tuning in." The best such associations are distinguished by their supportive and nonintrusive atmosphere ("please, come in"), a feeling of closeness and involvement with the collective and the possibility of assuming voluntary obligations. Here a person can really rely on the help of the members of the group, without losing his private life and "personal environment." Family clubs and other groups in which children work together with adults yield good educational results, as a result of active contacts not only with parents (which, today, have diminished greatly) but also with other adults and children. The need for selective intercourse is satisfied better. Furthermore, under the conditions of a weakened social control in a large urban environment and the increased availability of private housing and individualized recreation, such groups offer good training in socializing, in developing the habits of socialist community life. As a whole, these aspects in the life of the participants in such initiatives involve, to use the words of the Marxist classics, intercourse "among individuals as such."

The Soviet people are profoundly interested in the accelerated and qualitative renovation of all realms of our social life. Therefore, whatever efforts we may be making today to present the entire variety of forms of autonomous initiatives, tomorrow they may prove obsolete, for in a dynamically developing society new problems and needs and, consequently, new initiatives, appear.

Initiatives from below, which appear virtually in every city and labor collective, develop most actively in two areas: the ecological and the cultural. The landscaping and urbanization of towns and settlements, the creation of reservations and man-made preserves and lakes, participation in the recultivation of abandoned quarries and "neglected" land, putting out fires and patrolling, sponsoring "nature days" in kindergartens and schools, the struggle against poaching, organizing people's environmental protection universities and hikes, developing ecological training hikes, identifying natural monuments, organizing on a social basis national parks, and contributing expertise in the work of soviet authorities and state institutions are probably no more than a tenth of all nature conservations initiatives carried out today. Each such initiative is backed by dozens of activities, forms of participation and results. Initiatives in the cultural area are no less varied. This relates, above all, to the initiative of developing a Soviet cultural foundation, the organization of youth and hobby clubs and improving yards, streets and squares (let us recall the cooperation between architects and the public in renovating Stariy Arbat in Moscow). This also includes creating circles and associations for secondary-school students

and "problem" adolescents, summer camps for young people organized by activists, and local museums "for all" (such as the folk museum in the Myshkino settlement, Yaroslavl Oblast), and art galleries in rural areas. This also includes public people's universities of culture in villages and small towns, folk theatres, amateur movie clubs, jazz and chamber-music orchestras, painting studios and numerous family clubs and associations, many of which may be totally unnoticeable but, nevertheless, are exceptionally important from the viewpoint of the way the people become part of the fabric of new cities and settlements.

A type of initiative, which could be described as territorial, is rapidly developing today. The population's demands concerning its residential areas are drastically increasing, requiring not only more goods and services but, specifically, a certain quality of the habitat, which includes fine sociopsychological characteristics such as coziness, attractiveness, variety and emotional comfort. The people are reacting with increased sharpness to the gap between the high level of technological organization of industry and the habitat, which is frequently unattractive, monotonous and poorly organized. Ever more firmly they demand a healthy way of life. Indicative in this sense are the numerous antidrunkenness rural rallies. Councils have been set up in microrayons and other territorial associations, performing dozens of different functions aimed at upgrading and improving the quality of the environment. Typically, from the very beginning the initiators of building youth housing complexes developed them as territorial communities satisfying both ordinary living and high spiritual needs. The "development" concept, as applicable to civic initiatives, is many-sided as well. One of its characteristic features is a gradual transition from a frequently sporadic and even passive to an active participation and complex creative activities which require knowledge, inventiveness and organizational experience. For example, activist students, who are members of the environmental protection unit of Moscow State University, and other organizations are working on the creation of the Meshchera National Park, which demands major efforts and the solution of a number of economic, financial and administrative problems. In Makeyevka, students of the Engineering-Construction Institute, together with scientists from the Donetsk Botanical Garden, drafted a plan for a health zone for one of the city rayons, making use of mine waste. The Levsha club in Moscow, which was initially for the children of a single microrayon, has gradually begun to attract adults as well. Today its creators, working together with party and soviet personnel, are considering the organization of youth recreation for the entire rayon, etc.

Another area in the development of initiatives is generated by life itself: the transformation of initiatives into comprehensive programs. The Ekopolis program, which was drafted by scientists from MGU and the USSR Academy of Sciences, together with soviet and public organizations in the city of Pushchino na Oke, is widely known. It was based on a long initiative promoted by its citizens, related to entirely prosaic matters of supplies and services. This was followed by biological, economic, sociological, medical and other requirements. In the final account, it was deemed necessary to formulate a comprehensive interdisciplinary program for the development of the city. It is thus that initiative from below led to a governmental project.

The Ekopolis example made it possible to identify the characteristic stages in the development of public initiatives. Initially, by no means had all citizens in the town accepted the program. There was mistrust, skepticism and the simple philistine indifference ("Why do we need all this?"). Gradually, an increasing number of people began to show interest in the suggestions of social scientists. Some groups began to consider the program "for their own purposes," discussing it, and asking about the possible practical results it could yield. A major turn occurred later, when the most active citizens themselves undertook to develop its separate parts and to submit suggestions for its improvement. Finally, the city adopted the program "as its own" and set up a commission to help in its implementation and to look for possible organizational and financial support (unfortunately, the planned cooperation among scientists, local authorities and the public has still not been entirely organized).

An excellent example in the development of high-level civic initiative is the project to which poetess A. Barto dedicated several years of her life. As we know, it began with the poem "Zvenigorod," about children who were lost during the war. Soon afterwards, a woman from Karaganda turned to Barto with the request to help her find a daughter she had lost during the war. The mail on this subject increased to such an extent that the decision was made to seek those children through radio broadcasts. The "Find the Person" permanent program developed. The experience and talent of the poetess led her to create a unique method for seeking parents and relatives on the basis of childhood memories, most frequently consisting of two or three sentences remembered out of context, memories of the native home or the name of a street, or from tattoos or brands with which the fascist marked the children's hands. As a result, in 3.5 years some 400 families were reunited. This, however, is by no means the end. Initially, A. Barto wrote, I considered this an important and urgent matter. Its framework rapidly broadened, however: many Soviet people joined in this search and hundreds and thousands of proofs of human dedication and selflessness and the strength of parental ties came to light. Plots developed for new stories. A great contribution was made by those who study the features of human memory on a professional basis. In the final account, this led to the writing of a book. But how could one measure the main result of such an initiative: by the number of reunited families, the contribution which A. Barto made to the literature of lofty civic-mindedness or the moral echo within millions of human hearts, triggered by such searches and emotions?

The development of initiatives also means human creativity in the organizational area and the search for the most efficient means of implementing social initiatives in all areas of our life. We must decisively eliminate all bureaucratic hindrances along their way. Civic initiatives under socialist conditions are one of the forms of direct democracy and develop on its basis. The CPSU program emphasizes that the party deems it its task systematically to develop the principles of socialist self-management by the people so that management may increasingly become the immediate concern of the working people themselves.

The activities of initiative groups and of state and public organizations are interrelated. In some cases, such groups actively help executive committees and other territorial bodies. As an administrative unit, the executive

committee is too big to be able to enter into each detail of daily life in its territory. The microrayon councils do what the executive committees, as some of their personnel claim, simply have no time to do. In other cases, when the deputies of the local soviets promote public initiatives, the link is direct. In other cases again, initiative groups and their leaders, by making negative facts public (as was the case with the Baykal) mold public opinion, thus exerting a certain influence on ministries and departments responsible for the worrisome situation. Finally, they also act as intermediaries between science and production. Some initiatives are of a forecasting nature. Their purpose is to encourage creative debates and youth activeness. In general, such forms of interaction cannot be identical in all cases, for they are determined by the needs of the society, the city or the specific collective, and of the organizers of the initiatives themselves.

Public initiatives always have double results: changes in the conditions surrounding man and within man himself. In our view, participation in initiatives is, above all, of educational, of socializing importance.

Nothing comes free, and our well-being and achievements are based on labor. This is the main lesson of such activeness. In this sense, it is an excellent educator, for it offers each one of its participants the real opportunity to feel a certain responsibility and to dedicate efforts needed for the solution of specific problems or, in other words, to correlate his daily way of life, the conditions which ensure it and his needs with the measure of labor needed to satisfy them. Initiatives demand total dedication and, quite frequently, personal courage and civic daring.

However, even if no such mobilization is required, major physical and spiritual forces are needed for the club or circle one has organized, regardless of one's mood, to welcome guests on free days, to think of a topic for a talk, and later to wash the dishes or neaten the workshop. It calls for remaining calm when the number of visitors is 20 times higher than the capacity of one's home museum. Patience is needed to answer to hundreds of letters from people who have shown an interest in one's initiative, etc.

Any voluntary initiative (which distinguishes it from suggestions submitted by citizens to different agencies) is difficult, long and comprehensive. It frequently turns into an endless marathon: the more intensively it develops, the more distant the finishing line becomes. The burden of such daily promotional effort is a major test. However, those who can pass it provide a true service to social and moral progress. Furthermore, each initiative of this kind means, above all, contacts with many different people, some of whom are quite indifferent toward the initiative, or even openly oppose it. That is why it is so important for participants in an initiative to be observant, to develop the skills of human intercourse and endurance and the gift of profoundly understanding the nature of the motivations and ability to organize relations within one's own initiative group.

One can say most firmly that without the school of civic affairs, without a voluntarily assumed responsibility for a publicly significant initiative and without the struggle for the promotion of one's idea, the social qualities needed today by society cannot be shaped. Planting a seed is good but it is

important for every person to also set an example of sincere involvement and selflessness in his daily life.

It is difficult to overestimate the educational effect of the participation of children and adolescents in such initiatives. Furthermore, this makes it necessary to think more seriously of "educating the educators." In this connection, it would be pertinent to recall the thought expressed by L. Tolstoy: "...Education appears to be a difficult and complex matter only if we wish to educate our children or anyone else without educating ourselves. The moment we realize that educating others is possible only by educating ourselves, the question of education disappears and all that is left is the question of life: How should one lead one's life?" (L. Tolstoy, "Sobr. Soch" [Collected Works] in 22 volumes. Vol 19-20 p 346).

Should it become apparent that in the course of implementing an initiative the people are standing aside and are unwilling to help, this becomes not only a matter of unwillingness alone. Many people may see its unquestionable usefulness but are internally unprepared to harness their own forces. They fear the burden of concerns and responsibilities which they will have to assume. Sometimes, a certain incubation period of "sympathetic nonparticipation" may last for years, demanding of the leader of the initiative unusual endurance and persistence.

In emphasizing the significance and educational influence of social initiatives, which promote the socialization of the individual, we wish least of all to pit the civic qualities of the person against the professional ones. On the contrary, participation in one public initiative or another encourages the person, as a rule, to develop many professional skills and habits. This is not simply a matter of acquiring them and of increasing one's intellectual baggage but of professionalism, directly aimed at the good of society or social groups and the satisfaction of their cultural and other requirements. What is probably most important is that the person's life outside his job becomes just as meaningful and significant as the job itself. Let us note incidentally that rarely is a zealous person indifferent or negligent in his work. Sociological studies confirm that those who work with enthusiasm also enjoy an interesting and meaningful leisure time.

It was emphasized at the 27th CPSU Congress that "qualitative changes in the social area are impossible without profound changes in the content of labor." The person's entire activities must become increasingly creatively saturated, giving sustenance to "the work or the soul."

As the materials of the congress noted, politics yields the necessary results if it is built on the accurate consideration of the interests of classes, social groups and individuals. The appearance of one initiative or another and its fast spreading are indications of a new need which has developed within society or a signal of the fact that for a long time this need has not found the necessary means for its implementation. Furthermore, an initiative makes it possible to develop the social form of such an implementation and indicates to the corresponding organizations the optimal way of combining managerial with voluntary activities, cooperation between territorial and sectorial organizations, etc. In particular, the survey of sociologists,

ecologists and city builders we conducted, revealed that all of them consider desirable the participation of the public in all stages of the urban construction project. More than one-half of the urban construction experts were in favor of asking the opinion of the public at the stage of the development of the urbanization plan, i.e., in solving purely professional problems.

The role of public initiatives in the implementation of plans for the socioeconomic development of enterprises, cities and regions takes a number of aspects. Above all, being nondepartmental, they are directly aimed at meeting the interests of a collective, city or settlement. Civic activeness encourages the breakdown of departmental barriers and obsolete instructions and contributes to the combination of sectorial means and possibilities; in the final account, it accelerates the solution of pressing social problems. Furthermore, initiatives from below perform the very important function of adapting the general principles of social policy to local conditions and to the specific needs of a given social community. The contemporary cities must develop not only an individual external appearance: the development of many local initiatives proves the pressing need for making the daily life of a city much more varied and individualized.

Public initiatives are the most important means of harnessing some resources and conserving others. No one better than the cadre personnel of any enterprise and the population itself is familiar with the hidden opportunities or local possibilities, be they premises which have remained empty for years or the desire of the people to set up a family club, museum or library. This develops direct contacts between the population and the city management authorities (which is also a means of saving time and, consequently, of acceleration). Participation in an initiative also contributes to the organization of a permanent feedback between science and practice. In some cases, such ties are direct, similar to the Fakel Komsomol Application Firm we mentioned. In others, the activities of social groups help scientists and designers to concretize their task and to find means for their most efficient solution. Our survey of experts revealed that 83 percent of sociologists, 72 percent of urban builders and 40 percent of biologists noted that contacts with the public help them develop a clearer and more detailed idea of the needs of the population.

As we pointed out, the demands of the working people for the quality of their natural and social habitat are rapidly growing. The "coziness" of a city of settlement is an increasingly important factor in reducing cadre turnover, enhancing labor activeness and preventing drunkenness and in the development of other social phenomena. The people want to maintain high standards of housing, services and recreation. However, a city or a settlement is not a structure. It is not merely a collection of goods and services but a social community, an organism which ensures the activities of the people of different age groups and with different tastes and needs. The role of the public in the development of this organism is quite important. The public, which goes to work and is part of the life of its streets and districts, is much more familiar with its internal difficulties, poor "connections" and "discoordination" between natural and sociotechnological systems and specific features and their organizational forms. Naturally, it is important for the

initiative groups, which are flexible and not bound by departmental instructions, in broadly publicizing the various shortcomings and rapidly developing efforts to surmount them, to contribute to the qualitative reorganization of the living environment of working people in town and country.

Therefore, it is not simply work and the nonproduction area or work and recreation but the daily (and, therefore, the most difficult) heroism of mass daily work, the creation of socialist conditions for living and economic management and the ability to organize all practical matters without verbosity and fuss and concern not for oneself personally or for the "near and dear" but also for others, i.e., everyone (see V.I. Lenin, "Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 39, ?pp 8, pp 18-24),--how topical sound today these Leninist features of the Great Initiative.

The frank discussion with the people, conducted by the party at the 27th Congress, and its strategic course, consistent with the vital social needs and acquired creative potential of the Soviet people, have drastically enhanced public initiatives and the activities of the working people. Their mass nature, which is spreading in ever new realms of life, reflects the steady process of rapprochement and merger between the individual and the public in the consciousness and practical activities of the Soviet people and contributes to perfecting socialist relations and the transition of our society to a qualitatively new stage in its march toward communism.

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## Man of the New World: Concerns, Ideals, Values

### SIMPLE FABRIC OF HER FATE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 8, May 86 (signed to press 21 May 86) pp 72-77

[Article by B. Arkhipov]

[Text] Elected delegate to the party congress.... The Soviet reader, party member or not, young or old, does not need the explanation that it is a question of a tremendous trust in a person and a recognition of his great merits to the people, the party and the country. The party members of the Kostroma Oblast party organization have awarded this trust to Valentina Nikolayevna Pletneva on five different occasions. At the 27th CPSU Congress she was elected member of the Central Committee.

What deserves this honor? Naturally, above all the noble and dedicated work, obeying the laws of the worker's conscience, and the love and loyalty to the profession of weaver, chosen once and for all. Pletneva's labor record includes two brief entries: "November 1947: enrolled as student at the factory-plant training course of the Combine imeni Lenin; September 1948: registered as weaver in the same combine." That is all. This means that for almost 40 years Valentina Nikolayevna has worked at one and the same enterprise. She firmly linked her entire life to the Order of Lenin Linen Fabrics Combine imeni V.I. Lenin in Kostroma. People like her can by no means limit themselves to the mere implementation of their direct obligations, although in itself this is no minor accomplishment. To Pletneva, to live with the affairs of the combine means always to think of the work, to be always concerned with how to make the fabrics better, less expensive, of better quality and more beautiful and how to create better working and recreation conditions for the people, how to help them to work more productively, discover all of their abilities, develop them and accelerate the reorganization of society and themselves on a communist basis. It is precisely thus that V.N. Pletneva, CPSU member since 1952, has always lived and acted.

I am saying this confidently, having known Valentina Nikolayevna for nearly 3 decades. I recall her initial successes at the oblast and the all-union socialist competition, her initiative of setting up a personal thrift account for each job, the ahead of schedule implementation of 5-year plan assignments in 4 years and, subsequently, completing two 5-year plans within one 5-year period. There has been no case in which she has either failed to cope with



her socialist obligations or to keep her word, whether this applied to the quantity and quality of the fabrics or conserving electric power and raw and other materials. Her obligations are always fulfilled honestly, always on time, and her products are always first-rate and of excellent quality. Her great labor accomplishments have been highly rewarded by the homeland. She bears the title of Hero of Socialist Labor. She has been awarded four Orders of Lenin and the Order of the October Revolution. V.N. Pletneva, who is an honored textile and light industry worker of the RSFSR, is also the recipient of the USSR State Prize. Her social activities, great statesman-like mind and ability to work with people have been properly noted as well. Since 1959 Valentina Nikolayevna has been invariably elected member of the oblast CPSU Committee and member of the oblast soviet of people's deputies. She was RSFSR Supreme Soviet deputy between 1968 and 1985; since 1977 she has been member of the presidium of the AUCCTU.

In her dealings with people Valentina Nikolayevna never implies her high social status, whether in her words or her actions. Her behavior does not reveal even a hint of arrogance. She is always even tempered, well-wishing, hospitable, concerned and immediately ready to help. She has an amazing feeling of tactfulness and invariably behaves as demanded by the circumstances. About serious matters Valentina Nikolayevna speaks seriously. Under suitable circumstances she can joke, sing, dance and be the soul of any collective or group of friends. According to her comrades, who have gone to trips abroad with V.N. Pletneva, she manages to charm even the cautious trade union bigwigs and the most stand-offish bourgeois, not to mention workers with whom, it is true, meetings in capitalist countries are organized quite rarely. Conversely, in the socialist countries she can communicate with her class brothers. Assignments have taken me to cities in the Bulgarian People's Republic, visited by Valentina Nikolayevna in the course of her trips to this fraternal country, heading a delegation of frontranking textile enterprise workers from the USSR, who had come to share their experience with Bulgarian textile workers. Men and women workers, heads of textile enterprises in Samokov, Karlovo, Kazanluk and Sliven speak enthusiastically of her greatest skill (she stood behind a loom to demonstrate her work methods), and of how warm and charming she was, lively and gay when relaxing...

Years later, I visited Kostroma once again, the combine imeni V.I. Lenin. Accompanied by Taisiya Grigoryevna Kuzmina, chief of the weaving production area and party buro secretary Yekaterina Grigoryevna Akinicheva, I visited the weaving shop where V.M. Pletneva works. She had just returned from a trip as member of the CPSU delegation to the Italian Communist Party congress. She spared a few seconds to greet us and, one again, with maximal concentration, pursued her endless route among the looms, following a system known to herself alone. The old AT-120-L5 models were thundering in the shop. The noise of the beating mechanisms and the shuttles was substantially higher than the admissible levels. It was hot and moist in the shop. This was necessary, for flax fibers become much more brittle if the temperature drop. This is a specific technology required by the old equipment.

The situation in the neighboring shops, on the first floor of the weaving plant, is much better. Here it is quieter and cooler, for the temperament of the more advanced STB looms is not so capricious as that of the AT. However,

on the second floor, where Valentina Nikolayevna works, no STB looms can be installed: the floors are weak. When the question was being discussed where to put the new looms, V.N. Pletneva favored the young people, calling to the older weavers to stay with the old equipment: someone would have to work with it anyway until the enterprise has been reconstructed. She personally set the example, which others followed...

After her shift, at home, Valentina Nikolayevna showed to me letters she had received from all parts of the country. There was a thick bundle of them. People of most different professions and ages either agreed with or argued against the speech which she had delivered at the 27th CPSU Congress.

On that occasion she had expressed concern that the need to reorganize the work is sometimes acknowledged in words only instead of, rolling up one's sleeves, do the work itself, mention difficulties less and display greater independence, initiative and ability to assume personal responsibility. The weaver spoke with concern of the fact that there is a great deal of lack of discipline and careless attitude toward obligations in our life, that many people are still hiding behind the backs of those who work well and even lead the life of parasites, although they manage to enjoy the benefits granted by the state not only as much anyone else but even before anyone else.

The struggle against this evil requires not only nationwide approval of the measures formulated by the party but also nationwide efforts. At that point there would be order and the plans would be fulfilled, V.N. Pletneva said. She criticized unsubstantiated and unbalanced plans which are given to her combine, the endless talks of its reconstruction, the slow technical retooling of the sector, shortcomings in the work of scientists and machine builders and suppliers of flax and dyes, and about the organization of labor and socialist competition.

"Greetings, Valentina Nikolayevna! I read your speech at the 27th CPSU Congress with great satisfaction. You are probably getting mail from all parts of Great Russia. You may be already fed-up. What can you do, if you touch millions of people with your activities and creative toil," I read from a letter by a worker at a Kostroma timber farm.

"We know of cases," V.N. Pletneva said at the congress, "in which some competition organizers artificially increase production norms and work for the sake of ostentation; they increase the areas of work by some frontrankers, and assign them auxiliary help, although they alone take credit for the results."

As proof of the accuracy of these words, a collective letter received from workers in neighboring Ivanovo Oblast, cites specific examples of shortcomings in the organization of the socialist competition, concluding as follows: "Thank you for your speech. Unfortunately, we in Ivanovo are well familiar with this sham and do not support it."

"Thank you for your speech at the 27th CPSU Congress. We, chemical workers, support you," we read in letters sent to Pletneva by workers in the chemical industry and scientists developing new types of dyes. They agree with her critical remarks and describe red tape involved in the application of already

developed new types of dyes. "Dear Valyusha," wrote to V.N. Pletneva a woman war and labor veteran. "Thank you, dear, for such a warm, direct and sincere Russian speech. I reread it numerous times and will go on reading it.... I wish you, daughter, good health, happiness, joy and success in your efforts!"

She has received letters from workers and kolkhoz members, pensioners and secondary school students; she has received letters from distant Nakhodka, Kerch, Minsk and Arkhangelsk. She is being invited to visit enterprises and schools and meet with their collectives.

There are also those who express their disagreement. As a rule and, unfortunately, they are among scientific workers. V.N. Pletneva's opponents are irritated by the fact that a worker, a weaver, has undertaken to judge the work of scientists without, allegedly, either knowing or understanding its nature. Yet Valentina Nikolayevna did not even conceive of rushing into the holy of holies of "high" science. She spoke of something she was absolutely certain and of something she knew from personal experience--the existence of a certain gap between science and the needs of the production process.

Here is the opinion of V.G. Kirillov-Ugryumov, chairman of the Higher Certification Commission of the USSR Council of Ministers: "Dear Valentina Nikolayevna! In your speech at the 27th CPSU Congress you justly touched upon problems of an excessive 'dissertation trend' in the topics of some scientific studies and of strengthening ties between science and production. After considering the item 'On Priority Measures to Organize the Implementation of the Resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress,' the USSR VAK Collegium adopted a corresponding plan of measures for further perfecting the certification of scientific cadres in accordance with the suggestions and critical remarks expressed by the delegates to the 27th CPSU Congress."

G.A. Romanenko, deputy chairman of the USSR State Agroindustrial Committee, reported that the USSR Gosagroprom considered the critical remarks expressed by V.N. Pletneva on the quality of flax staple supplied to industry, accepted them as entirely justified and has taken measure to correct the existing situation. In turn, A.N. Ustkachkintsev, first deputy minister of chemical industry, informed V.N. Pletneva, CPSU Central Committee member, of what the ministry was doing to upgrade the quality of the dyes which the Rubezhnoye Chemical Combine was supplying to the Linen Fabrics Combine imeni V.I. Lenin.

The weaver's speech led representatives of out-of-town enterprises and central organizations and departments to take to the road. Kostroma has already been visited by L.V. Koryakova and V.S. Khokhlov, representatives of the USSR State Committee for Labor, M.G. Dolzhenkova, chairman of the Central Committee of the Trade Union of Textile and Light Industry Workers, and personnel from the Ministry of Chemical Industry, the Rubezhnoye Chemical Combine and the Gosagroprom. Problems of improving the organization of the work and socialist competition, upgrading the quality of flax production and linen fabrics, which V.N. Pletneva discussed at the 27th CPSU Congress, were considered on-site. The only remaining problem was one of the most vitally important to the collective: the reconstruction of the combine, above all the flax combing facility and the preparations shop of the spinning facility, which are the .pa worst bottlenecks of the enterprise. The reason is the silence maintained by

its own Ministry of Light Industry.

Discussions on reconstruction have been going on since 1978. Initially, the overall cost was assessed at 64,461,000 rubles. By 1980 the amount had been reduced to 37,825,000; by 1984 it had "shrunk" to 16,895,000 rubles.

However, even in its truncated aspect, the plan for the combine's reconstruction has still not been approved. It is still being considered by departmental experts. The entirely real danger has appeared that the reconstruction will not be undertaken during the 12th 5-Year Plan as well. This threatens, as V.N. Pletneva said at the congress, to stop the work of the entire combine. The people are refusing to work in unsanitary conditions. In many sections of the preparations shops of the spinning facility the dust level exceeds admissible concentrations by a factor of 5-10. If no people are left in the preparations shops the spinners will remain idle and the weavers will not have the necessary yarn.

The combine's management and party committee have urgently raised the problem related of reconstruction with the USSR Ministry of Light Industry and the RSFSR Ministry of Textile Industry. The Kostroma Oblast CPSU Committee and the oblast soviet of people's deputies sent a letter to the USSR Gosplan substantiating the need for allocating the necessary funds for the combine's reconstruction, even at the cost of deleting from the oblast's plan a number of projects the construction of which has not been undertaken yet. V.N. Pletneva's difficulties are continuing.

Valentina Nikolayevna is stubborn (as anyone can tell you). If she undertakes a project, she perseveres. Even if the looms wait for her every single day and even though every day and hour of her working time is crowded, she dedicates her entire heart, her strong nature and will power to the affairs of the government and the public, to work with the people and to her concern for them.

The people speak well of her, with deep respect.

"Valentina Nikolayevna is our beacon," says Nina Mikhaylovna Solovyeva, deputy chief of the combine's labor organization and wages department. "On her initiative, thousands of our workers are competing for completing the 5-year assignments ahead of schedule. In the 11th 5-Year Plan she alone completed 14 annual assignments. She has pledged to fulfill her assignment for the first year of the 12th 5-Year Plan by a factor of 2.3."

V.N. Pletneva is a truly talented weaver. For example, the norm for tying up a broken warp thread is 28 seconds; she completes the operation in 19.9 seconds. Six seconds are allocated for loading the shuttle. Valentina Nikolayevna spends 1.5 seconds on this operation. As a result, she is able to save 1 hour and 49 minutes in loading the shuttles, 38 minutes in tying-up warp threads and 43 minutes in tying up weft threads. As a result, she manages to save about 3 hours per shift. On her 12 looms, in 5 minutes, she makes 7 meters of fabrics. One can easily estimate how many many meters of fabrics can be produced in the 3 hours that are saved!....

"For the past 15 years I have serviced the looms on which Valentina

Nikolayevna works," says Anatoliy Dmitriyevich Leonov, who heads a communist labor brigade. "She is a master of her work, a true communist. She suffers if brigade equipment remains idle. Although she handles 2.5 times more looms than the norm, she frequently undertakes to service another 2-3 looms, should anyone in the brigade fail to show up for work. She missed 7 days of work because of her trip to Italy. Now she is catching up. She never allows her assignment to be lowered, although her absences from work are always legitimate..."

"It would be difficult to estimate the number of girls helped by Valentina Nikolayevna in mastering this skill," says Nadezhda Leonidovna Basova, brigade party group organizer and member of the shop trade union committee, who has 10 years of experience as a weaver. "I learned my skill from Pletneva. I mastered her fast methods and learned how to recognize the features of each loom. She helped me to handle from 2 to 6 and, subsequently, 12 looms. Valentina Nikolayevna is sincerely happy by the successes achieved by each weaver and sympathizes with each one of our failures. All of us know how busy she is with public affairs. Nevertheless, I do not recall a time when she has refused to carry out the instruction of the party group...."

Since the 27th CPSU Congress, Valentina Nikolayevna has delivered more than 50 speeches in the combine and elsewhere. She never cribs, she speaks from the heart, skillfully relating party decisions with the specific assignments of the combine or of a given production facility, shop or subdivision, boldly exposing shortcomings, criticizing their culprits, regardless of who they may be, substantiatedly, with proof and constructively.

"We consider Pletneva's critical speech at the 27th CPSU Congress very helpful to the collective," said Yevgeniy Aleksandrovich Alyayev, the combine's director. "She criticized with full justification the management of the enterprise and the oblast party and soviet bodies for shortfalls and inefficiency."

V.I. Toropov, CPSU obkom first secretary, P.T. Zadorozhnyy, obkom secretary, and V.P. Smirnov, oblast soviet executive committee secretary, with whom I spoke, firmly supported all remarks and suggestions contained in the speech which the noted weaver delivered at the congress. The oblast leaders are fully resolved to push ahead with the question of the combine's reconstruction and to upgrade the quality of the raw material supplied to the enterprise by the Kostroma kolkhozes and sovkhoses and flax treatment plants. Let us note for the sake of fairness that the Kostroma initiative of increasing flax production by 50 percent between 1982 and 1985 was unsuccessful. The note drafted by Yu.N. Balandin, the then first secretary of the CPSU obkom, substantiating said initiatives, was approved by the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Council of Ministers and RSFSR Council of Ministers. The requested amount of chemical fertilizers, tractors, flax combines, trucks and drying systems requested were allocated in amounts which even exceeded the initial request. However, instead of delivering the pledged 57,800 tons of flax, in the first 4 years of the last 5-year period, only 34,500 tons were sold by the oblast. Now, according to S.S. Marsov, head of the agricultural department of the CPSU obkom, additional steps are being drafted aimed at substantially increasing flax production during the 12th 5-year period, and eliminate the

failure, the consequences of which were described daringly and on a principled basis, by V.N. Pletneva at the congress.

She tirelessly keeps repeating that without the help of the people and the collective nothing serious can be accomplished in life.

"My first teacher," Valentina Nikolayevna says, "was my grandmother Yekaterina Mitrofanovna Guryanova, who raised me, an early orphan, with a feeling of respect for labor. It was she who developed in me love for weaving and made me choose the weaving profession. I owe a great deal to Anastasiya Ivanovna Sokolova, the FZO school principal, and to my voluntary instructors, the weavers Anna Fedorovna Puchkova, Anna Vasilyevna Zykova and Zinaida Vasilyevna Ratnikova. They not only helped me to become a master of my work but also prepared me to join the party, recommended me and helped me to develop the strict concepts of worker honor and communist morality. I owe also a great deal to the party leaders, to the heads of the combine, to my comrades and fellow workers, who have always been ready to help, support and teach me, the way today I am teaching the young generation."

Skill comes with time and experience, when one develops a feeling for each loom, when one becomes thoroughly familiar with it and its whims, Valentina Nikolayevna points out. "For example, without even looking I know which one of my 12 looms has stopped. Naturally, in addition to knowledge and skills, one must have firm convictions, will power and character. One must work as though one is trying to set a record every day. To others this may be a record but to you this becomes a standard you have set for yourself. One should not remain indifferent if someone says "she's an upstart, she takes on more than anyone else!" One should not be afraid of the discontent of someone else and one should resist other people's jealousy. It is in such cases that one's real essence as a worker is manifested. Thank you, my party, who raised and inspired me to accomplish great deeds.... Thank you, my Volga, my land of Kostroma, which nurtured me like a mother and where I found my fate and happiness...."

Valentina Nikolayevna has been asked to do social work and was offered the position of combine deputy director in charge of work with young people, the more so since, as a tutor, she has done such work throughout her life and knows it perfectly. She refused. She is continuing to weave the fate of her simple fabric.

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CSO:1802/14

## SOCIAL POLICY, DEMOCRACY, SELF-GOVERNMENT

### PERFECTING NATIONAL RELATIONS IN THE USSR

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 8, May 86 (signed to press 21 May 86) pp 78-86

[Article by Academician Yu. Bromley]

[Text] National problems were one of the important topics among the broad range of social problems discussed at the 27th CPSU Congress. The Soviet Union pioneered the solution of the national problem which, as V.I. Lenin wrote, is a global phenomenon. One of the most crucial problems in the history of mankind is the appearance of class antagonisms, which inevitably lead to national oppression and inequality among nations. Our country convincingly proved to the rest of the world that with the victory of socialism antagonisms in national relations are also eliminated. As noted in the new edition of the CPSU program, "The national problem inherited from the past was successfully solved in the Soviet Union." The former backward national outlying areas have long disappeared in the course of building socialism. Socialist nations were established, forming an international community new in terms of social parameters--the Soviet people; common cultural features developed, inherent in the Soviet people of all nationalities; national discord has disappeared and fraternal friendship among peoples, tempered in the course of their joint constructive toil and trials in a most difficult war, became the standard.

Consistency and continuity in the party's implementation of the Leninist principles of national policy do not exclude but, conversely, presume a close consideration of the changes which have taken place in the life of nationalities in the USSR both starting with the Great October Socialist Revolution and in the 25 years since the adoption of the third CPSU program. As its new edition emphasizes, "The systematic implementation of Leninist national policy and the comprehensive strengthening of the friendship among the peoples are structural components of the advancement of socialism." A considered comprehensive, scientific and socioeconomically substantiated national policy plays an important role in solving the strategic problem of accelerating the country's socioeconomic progress.

In this connection, we must concern ourselves above all with the further increase in the contribution made by union and autonomous republics and autonomous oblast and okrugs in the development of the single national development complex, consistent with their increased economic and spiritual potential. At the present stage, it is precisely the specifics of economic

and cultural progress of each republic, enabling it to make its unique contribution to the overall development of the country, that play an essential role. It is no accident that the CPSU program notes the need for systematically increasing the division of labor among republics." Naturally, in this case we must not allow the manifestation of any kind of trends toward national exclusivity or moods of dependency.

The growth of socialism into communism is taking place in a multinational country. Obviously, a well-planned economic strategy, active social policy and purposeful ideological education are continuing to strengthen the economic, social, political and spiritual frame on the basis of which the unity within the Soviet people, as a new social and international community, is strengthening. This is greatly assisted by the intensively developing processes of the scientific and technical revolution, which increases the similarity in labor conditions in various sectors and regions, urbanization, which leads to a qualitatively restructuring of activities and the national habitat, and the growth of culture and education, which lifts the qualitative standard of the creative potential of society to a higher level.

The more profound and comprehensive the integrative processes in economic and cultural building and the implementation of large-scale social programs, such as the Food and Energy Programs, the stronger becomes the multinational Soviet society. "The development of production cooperation and mutual aid among republics," the 27th CPSU Congress emphasized, "is in the high interest of our multinational state and each republic. The task of the party organizations and the soviets is to make fuller use of existing opportunities in the common interest and persistently to surmount all manifestations of parochialism." In turn, the growing integration trend, which is leading in the area of national relations, broadens possibilities for the enrichment and further development of all aspects of the lives of individual nationalities.

All of this is important in order to meet the task stipulated in the party documents of taking more specifically and profoundly into consideration national specifics in systematically ensuring true equality among peoples and pursuing a policy of social justice.

We must bear in mind in this case that equality does not mean in the least any mechanical coincidence and blending of the levels of economic development among the peoples of the USSR, for multiple factors of historical, socioeconomic and natural-climatic nature, which create differences among nations, are always active. One can easily detect noticeable differences among union and autonomous republics and autonomous oblasts and, respectively, among nations and ethnic groups, in major indicators, such as the size of the urban population, ratios in the development of the national economy, capital-labor and energy-labor ratios, extent of agricultural mechanization and average levels of education. Over a considerable historical period these indicators were leading in comparing socioeconomic developments of peoples. At the present time, the use of some of them, seemingly simple and convincing, requires the consideration of additional criteria. Otherwise an incomplete idea may develop concerning the lives of the nations. An indicator such as the percentage of the urban population does not always symbolize a development level. If the scientific and technical farming standards are high and if a



city with its comprehensive sociocultural infrastructure offers easy access in the cyclic migration of the rural population, the fact that a significant percentage of people live in the countryside is no proof whatsoever of a lesser development standard. The socioeconomic living standard of nations and ethnic groups is confirmed by other indicators as well, such as total real income of socioprofessional population groups and the share of people with higher or secondary specialized and full secondary training, by age cohort; the information potential; the density and temporal accessibility of transport and consumer services, etc.

In this connection, science faces the most serious task of formulating the type of structural indicators for the needs of administration and planning the economic and social development, which would indeed make it possible to see the extent to which the vestiges of inequality among our peoples have been eliminated and to prevent any confusion but, instead, clearly distinguish between the features of development and its level.

The Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1986-1990 and the Period Through the Year 2000 presume profound qualitative shifts in the structure of republic economic complexes; each republic is implementing its own system of steps aimed at the efficient utilization of the labor potential. The union republics in the Transcaucasus are planning for the accelerated development of machine building for a number of food industry sectors which will compensate the lowering of wine production; in addition to intensifying cotton growing, related industrial sectors will be rapidly developed in the union republics of Central Asia (cotton processing, agricultural machine building, production of chemical fertilizers and textile industry), shifting the center of gravity to opening enterprises in small towns and closer to rural rayons. We have all the right reasons to believe that such a policy will contribute to the further increase in the size of the working class in the native population.

As M.S. Gorbachev emphasized in his speech at the 27th CPSU Congress, "Our achievements should not create the concept that national processes are problem-free. Contradictions are inherent in any development and are inevitable in this area as well." In considering this problem, it is important to bear in mind that a characteristic feature of national processes in our multinational country is the existence within them of two dialectically interrelated principles: the steady economic, social and cultural development of all nationalities, on the one hand, and the further intensification of their unity, on the basis of the growing internationalization of all life with the advancement of socialism, on the other. The new edition of the CPSU program noted once again that "characteristic of national relations in our country include the further blossoming of nations of ethnic groups and their steady rapprochement."

The existence of these two principles in national processes in the course of the development of our state cannot fail to trigger problems of common life and labor of its nationalities and create new problems in the realm of national relations.

National relations cannot remain unaffected by individual shortcomings in the development of our society, particularly the negative trends noted at the 27th CPSU Congress in the economic area, which appeared in the 1970s and beginning of 1980s. This applies, above all, to significant disparities among union republics in the growth rates of industrial labor productivity. Thus, over the past 15 years such growth rates have been 50 percent higher in Azerbaijan and Belorussia than in Tajikistan. As was pointed out at the congress, in Kazakhstan national income produced per unit of basic capital is one-third below the national average. In Turkmenia, public labor productivity has not increased over the past 15 years. Unquestionably, this is affected by differences in the sectorial structure of industry in the individual republics. Obviously, however, this is also due to characteristics in the professional training of cadres, their lack of proper initiative, shortcomings in economic management and the slow practical application of scientific and technical achievements.

One of the major problems whose relevance has increased in recent years, is the demographic situation which has developed in most parts of the country, particularly in the European part of the USSR, among Russians, Ukrainians, Belorussians, Balts and some other ethnic groups. Here a conversion to families with one or two children has become quite clearly defined in both town and country. The native ethnic groups in Central Asia, the Kazakhs and Azerbaijanis, whose population growth rate is triple the union's average, account for the relatively satisfactory population reproduction in the USSR as a whole.

The uneven nature of ethnodemographic processes, combined with different growth rates of labor productivity was paralleled in the past 15 years by a differentiation among republics in the development of the individual components of their social infrastructure, including housing, consumer services, publishing, etc.

Medical services in all union republics underwent intensive development in the 1970s and beginning of 1980s. The number of physicians in the country increased from 668,000 in 1970 to 1,170,000 in 1985; the number of hospital beds per 10,000 population increased from 109.4 to 129.7. Nevertheless, disproportions in such indicators did not diminish among individual republics but, conversely, increased. For example, whereas in 1970 the disparity between Georgia and Tajikistan was 20.5 physicians per 10,000 population, it increased, reaching 26.9 in 1985; the gap in hospital beds increased within the same period from a low 33.3 to 53.0 (Latvia and Armenia). With relatively high indicators in the development of public catering enterprises for all union republics, differences among republics continued to increase.

In solving the problems which arise in this connection, the CPSU Central Committee political report to the 27th Party Congress noted, we should "consider how more closely to link the amount of funds allocated for social needs with the efficiency of the regional economy." We must also take into consideration that of late an indicator of population prosperity, such as the volume of trade in state and cooperative stores in individual republics, increased quite unevenly. Thus, from 1970 to 1985 the gap between the slowest increase in trade (the Tajik SSR) and the highest (Moldavian SSR) increased by

a factor of 2.2 as the result of changes in the size of the population in these republics.

Differences in the ethnodemographic development of individual areas are also affecting a currently topical social problem, such as the optimal utilization of manpower. Wherever surplus manpower exists in the countryside (in several Central Asian republics and some other parts of the country), steps must be taken contributing to the more efficient utilization of such resources locally, in combined industrial enterprises and agroindustrial complexes in particular. It would be expedient to develop seasonal migration and to encourage the utilization of rural manpower in nearby cities. In turn, this would stimulate population shifts in the cities, including the big ones. On the other hand, in order to assist such processes we must, above all, rationalize and intensify conditions for agricultural production.

Briefly, a complex and dialectically quite contradictory problem arises. On the one hand, we must know and take into consideration national and regional (intranational) features of the population's work behavior in planning investments in the national economy and in locating and developing production facilities; on the other, we must build, which requires not only a consideration of the customs and traditions of the local population and its job behavior stereotypes, but also changing them deliberately.

Studies have indicated that the problem of interrepublic migration requires a more thorough approach. In particular, this must be taken into consideration in the implementation of programs for expanding the participation of the working people in Central Asia and the Caucasus in the reorganization of the Nonchernozem and the development of Siberia and the Far East. The forms of this participation could vary greatly, including the building of housing and social and cultural amenities and roads.

It would also be expedient to train specialists for the entire country in republic VUZs and, above all, to assign them on a countrywide basis. The enhancement of interregional mobility of the "surplus" rural population and the level of its professional training would also contribute to involving some rural young people in training in agricultural PTU in the Russian Federation.

As we know, a significant rapprochement among the socioclass structures of the nations has taken place in recent years. This process is organically related to the increased national detachments of the working class. Their exceptional dynamism is obvious. If we compare data of the last two population censuses--1970 and 1979--we can easily see that the working class is growing at a particularly fast pace precisely where it historically developed relatively recently, such as among the native populations of the republics in the Transcaucasus and Central Asia. In 1970, when more than one-half of the population in the country consisted of workers, the latter accounted for approximately one-third among Moldavians, Georgians, Turkmens, Tajiks and Uzbeks. The 1979 census indicated that the differences in the size of the working class among the native nationalities of union republics had been practically reduced. With the exception of the Turkmens, within each ethnic group workers accounted for approximately one-half of the population, i.e., they almost equaled the national average. Particularly headlong was their

growth over the past decade among the Moldavians: here the share of workers in the entire population increased from 34 to 54 percent and, respectively, among the Tajiks, from 36 to 55 percent.

However, this increase took place essentially in rural areas and, in particular, as a result of the reorganization of kolkhozes into sovkhozes. Among the Tajiks, Kirghiz, Uzbeks and Moldavians, as was the case previously among the Kazakhs, the predominant part of the workers were in rural areas (no more than one-third of Uzbek workers lived in cities, and the percentage of Kirghiz and Tajik workers living in cities was even lower). This has led to some differences remaining among republics in terms of the share of the working class in the basic ethnic group and, particularly, of the industrial working class and its skilled groups.

The many difficulties experienced by the economy of our country in recent years, and the difficulty of converting to intensive forms of economic management were paralleled by an inadequate general cultural and professional-skill standard of the workers in the national economy. The plans earmarked in this connection are tremendous and their implementation will require a great deal of time, for it is not a question of the number of years spent in school but of adopting the entire set of urban industrial standards, the mastery of which can cover the life span of several generations.

The universal increase in education is of major importance in the process of equalizing the social structure among the different ethnic groups. At the same time, however, the social expectations of the people increase as well. Under these circumstances, a consistent internationalist cadre policy becomes particularly important. In itself, ethnic affiliation can be neither a source of privileges nor of deprivations.

Nevertheless, as Ye.K. Ligachev pointed out at the 27th Party Congress, in the recent past "here and there parochial, native-son feelings gained the upper hand. They hindered...the interregional exchange of cadres and of experienced workers among republics and center and among the country's rayons and cities. In a number of cases this resulted in self-isolation, stagnation and other negative phenomena." Sometimes, in solving cadre problems, vestigial forms of old tribal ties manifested themselves. In some cases, party committees ignored such negative phenomena and scientists failed to analyze their origins.

Recent party documents have frequently emphasized the need to pay greater attention to non-native ethnic groups in union republics, which total some 55 million people. We must not only take more fully into consideration and meet national specific problems of such groups in terms of language, culture and way of life, but also ensure their proper representation on all levels of the sociopolitical structure. Naturally, the systematic implementation of the principle of proportional representation equally applies to the large national communities (particularly when it is a question of communities not belonging to the national group which gives the republic its name).

Under contemporary conditions state-legal aspects of national processes assume increasing significance. Here as well we can clearly trace the dialectical

combination of two principles. As noted in the new edition of the CPSU program, the party will continue to strengthen the single multinational union state and "at the same time be always concerned with the further enhancement of the role of republics, autonomous oblasts and autonomous okrugs in solving national problems." "The forms of relations among ethnic groups will be enriched in the interest of the entire Soviet people and of each individual nation and ethnic group." Briefly, the purpose of the policy of nationalities is to contribute to the harmonious combination of the development of the activeness of each nation and ethnic group with the further strengthening of the Soviet people, the new social and international community. In this case perfecting Soviet democracy, systematically implementing the principles of socialist self-government and ensuring the efficient participation of the working people of all nationalities in the work of the organs of authority and administration will play an important role. This applies to representation not only on the republic level but also in all-union organs of authority and public organizations.

Perfecting spiritual life plays an important role in the concept of accelerating the socioeconomic development of socialist society and helping it reach a new qualitative status. "We are justifiably proud," delegates to the congress said, "of the achievements of Soviet multinational socialist culture. By imbuing within itself the wealth of national forms and colors, it is becoming a unique phenomenon in world culture." The development of the single culture of the Soviet people, socialist in content, varied in terms of national forms and international in spirit, based on the best accomplishments and original traditions of the peoples of the USSR, is one of the most important tasks in perfecting national relations, as the new edition of the CPSU program stipulates.

Naturally, it would be a mistake to see in this case only one feature--the blossoming of national cultures--neglecting their importance in the process of rapprochement and reciprocal enrichment, for it is well-known how damaging cultural isolation is to a nation. It would be equally simplistic, however, to consider the principle of internationalism in the sense that all nations must be similar to one's own. Such similarity is neither possible nor necessary. The wealth of Soviet and world culture is created above all through the variety of its elements. The equalization of national features would inevitably impoverish both culture and social life.

As we know, the processes of the free development of the languages of the different nationalities in the USSR and the free dissemination of the Russian language among the non-Russian population and a means of international communications play an important role in the interaction and reciprocal enrichment of national cultures, in strengthening friendship among peoples and in consolidating the social and international unity of the Soviet people. The share of people fluent in Russian increased from 76 to 82 percent of the country's population between 1970 and 1979. Let us remember that by the end of the 1970s one-third of the non-Russian population could not speak Russian, a language which widened access to the achievements of science, technology and domestic and world culture. However, in some republics young people today know Russian less well than members of the middle generation. That is why, as was the case in the past, the further spreading and improved knowledge of

Russian, particularly in the rural areas of Central Asia, the Transcaucasus and Estonia, remain topical.

A major aspect of the linguistic problem is related to exposing Russian nationals and individuals belonging to other non-native nationalities to the languages of the native populations of the individual republics. This improves interperson relations and contributes to their adaptation to a different ethnic environment.

Scientists working in the individual republics must establish the way in which the national experience of the individual nations can contribute to the enrichment of the general spiritual atmosphere, and thus contribute to the acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development. In particular, it is essential to determine the possibility of using the spiritual potential of the nation in promoting the ideological life of society. It would be useful to take note of national folk traditions, scorn for loafers in particular, and to promote such traditions openly yet tactfully, without boring triteness, through motion pictures, the television, etc. In this case historians and mass information media workers must have their say.

It is also important, as was noted at the congress, for "healthy interest in all that is valuable in a national culture not to degenerate into efforts to separate it from the objective process of interaction and rapprochement among national cultures. This must be borne in mind also when under the guise of national originality efforts are made in some works of literature, art and science, to depict in idyllic tones reactionary-nationalistic and religious vestiges which conflict with our ideology, socialist way of life and scientific outlook." It was also pointed out that "quite unfortunately, there have been cases of nonclass assessments of the past of one nation or another and works have been published which idealize the history of one nation and belittles the historical role of another." It is a matter of concern that in the study of the historical past of individual peoples, it is frequently considered as essentially isolated from the history of the other peoples, including its neighbors. Naturally, with increased national self-consciousness, interest in the historical past increases. That is why we must carefully protect "everything which is cherished by the people's memory." A great deal is being done but "there also are reasons for concern."

As we know, the growth of the national self-consciousness among the members of all nations and ethnic groups in our country is harmoniously combined with feelings of all-Soviet pride and all-Soviet self-awareness. In speaking of the successes of any nation, the Soviet people perfectly realize that the source of these successes is the inviolable friendship among fraternal peoples and the result of our common efforts and common Soviet accomplishments. Naturally, however, we must not forget that social consciousness and the social mentality may also sometimes inadequately reflect objective social processes, including those of the flowering and rapprochement among nations. The party ascribes great importance to raising the working people in the spirit of the ideas of socialist patriotism and internationalism. The CPSU, the new edition of its program emphasizes, will persistently see to it that every Soviet person shows "intolerance of manifestations of nationalism, chauvinism, national exclusivity and national egotism."

What are the sources of such negative phenomena? Usually, they are explained as vestiges in the minds of the people and as the influence of bourgeois propaganda. Unquestionably, those play a major role. However, they are not everything. Frequently such phenomena are influenced by shortcomings in the development of contemporary society, a great deal of it in the social consciousness area.

National narrow-mindedness displayed by various population strata is due to different reasons. A narrow outlook and insufficient knowledge of the past and present of other peoples feed, for example, prejudices among less-well educated social circles and members of the senior generations. Extensive educational work and explanatory ideological efforts through the mass information media are very helpful in surmounting national narrow-mindedness.

Occasionally, feelings of unrealized expectations in specific situations, most frequently related to a labor career, are transferred to national grounds. In such cases, the prevention of undesirable phenomena in contacts among nations depends on controlling social problems of the contemporary stage of social development: correlation between supply and demand for specific jobs, youth vocational guidance, further expansion of housing construction and improvements in consumer services.

As we know, joint work and long and favorable intercourse lead to friendly international contacts. However, it is precisely in the multinational cities, the young cities above all, and at multinational construction projects that proper handling of international relations is particularly important. It is precisely here that the people note more than anywhere else the specific nature of a given culture and behavior and compare their own and other nationalities' jobs and way of life. That is why extensive explanatory work is needed as well as a sensitive cadre policy and concern for meeting the cultural requirements of members of all nationalities.

The CPSU Central Committee political report to the 27th Congress particularly emphasized the importance of further strengthening the fraternal friendship among the peoples of the USSR and raising the working people in a spirit of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism. We must make an even closer study of the psychological aspects of national processes, including interperson relations. For example, we must take into consideration the fact that a national self-consciousness develops through the lens of "one's own" cultural values. All of this requires the expanded and varied (through television, literature, museums, etc.) dissemination of knowledge of the characteristic features of the cultures of different peoples, neighboring peoples in particular.

The progress made by the socialist nations and the new conditions governing their interaction, in which they act as equal not only in terms of rights but also of real socioeconomic status, are impossible without steady improvements in ideological work. The active dissemination of the successes of republics and peoples, particularly those previously backward in their development, must be combined with a description of their real practical interest in maintaining close contacts and in unification. No matter is too petty in the exercise of CPSU national policy and in the implementation of the inviolable Leninist

principles of such policy. We must always remember that national phenomena are a very delicate area which requires a great deal of tactfulness in its study and, particularly, in the solution of practical problems.

The intensified theoretical interpretation of the national problems, like all other problems in the development of our society, assumes particular importance in the light of the resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress. Unfortunately, our leading social studies journals have not sponsored extensive debates on the theoretical aspects of national problems for quite some time (since the end of the 1960s). Verbal public discussions as well are infrequent. Clearly, insufficient attention is being paid to the critical study of scientific works on national relations.

In order to surmount such shortcomings, it is of essential importance to intensify organizational work. The Scientific Council for National Problems of the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium Section of Social Sciences, and its regional subdivisions must enhance their activities. We must enhance the role of the council in coordinating respective studies and in critically analyzing publications dealing with national problems.

Everything seems to indicate that the time has come to take more important steps in providing organizational support for the development and guidance of national processes and the creation of special subunits specializing in the corresponding area. In any case, obviously, a decisive turn must be made by the social sciences toward the deeper study of the real content of national processes in their entire complexity and contradictory nature. That is precisely the type of approach required by the party.

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## THE CONTEMPORARY WORLD: TRENDS AND CONTRADICTIONS

### PROBLEM OF GLOBAL SIGNIFICANCE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 8, May 86 (signed to press 21 May 86) pp 87-97

[Article by Academician Ye. Velikhov, vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, chairman of the Committee of Soviet Scientists for Peace and Against the Nuclear Threat]

[Text] The Second All-Union Conference of Scientists on Problems of Peace and the Prevention of Nuclear War will open in Moscow on 27 May.

What are the tasks its participants are setting for themselves? Representatives of different fields of knowledge, scientific workers of different ranks and levels and specialists from the USSR Academy of Sciences, the academies of union republics and higher educational institutions and departmental scientific research organizations and foreign guests will get together to discuss the vital problems of the struggle against the threat of the nuclear cataclysm hanging over the planet, to which imperialism is pushing mankind. At the same time, the results of the 3-year activities of the Committee of Soviet Scientists, which was set up by decision of the First All-Union Conference of Scientists for Saving Mankind From the Threat of Nuclear War and for Disarmament and Peace will be summed up. It was then, in May 1983, that the participants in that representative forum appealed to scientific workers the world over to join efforts to protect the common human gain--universal peace--from the threat of nuclear destruction.

Let us note that today quantitative measurements alone in assessing the colossal power of contemporary weapons of mass destruction meanings is insufficient, for it is now a question of a qualitatively different threat, a global threat of the destruction of human civilization and, perhaps, of life itself on earth. Safeguarding peace is the first and most urgent need of mankind.

It is also the most important prerequisite for accelerating the progress of the countries which have taken the path to socialism and a communist future. That is why the CPSU set as the main objective of its foreign policy strategy the multiplication of efforts for a turn for the better in the international arena. This is expected and demanded by the peoples of our country and the entire world.

The CPSU Central Committee political report to the 27th Party Congress emphasized that no alternatives to cooperation and peaceful interaction among all countries exist: the confrontation between capitalism and socialism can take place only and exclusively in the form of peaceful competition and peaceful rivalry. "To us peaceful coexistence is a political course which the CPSU intends strictly to support in the future as well," M.S. Gorbachev said at the congress. "By ensuring a continuity in its foreign policy strategy, the CPSU will promote an active international policy based on the realities of the contemporary world. Naturally, the problem of international security cannot be solved with a couple of peace offensives, even intensive ones. Only consistent, systematic and persistent efforts can be successful."

This is also the objective of the Committee of Soviet Scientists in Defense of Peace and Against the Nuclear Threat. The committee has set up several working groups of experts in the various areas of science and technology to study the scientific and technical, strategic and political aspects of the militaristic plans of the U.S. administration and the possible consequences of their implementation, and to consider the various alternatives in freezing nuclear arms and taking appropriate scientific and technical and political-legal steps.

The committee has done a great deal of work in the past 3 years. Its results will be presented in reports containing not only a study of the political arguments brought forth by militaristic Western circles but also a description of the combat components of the latest armaments and their support systems, and possible means of counteracting them. All of this is based on proper comprehensive studies with the utilization of the necessary mathematical methods and charts, diagrams and models. We are openly disseminating our conclusions at home and abroad, so that everyone may know the truth of the man-hating plans of the imperialist, the barbaric means of the war they are preparing and the extent of the political madness which is drawing today on the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution. The committee is trying to draw the attention of the world to this terrible reality which is incompatible with any criterion of normal human life and consciousness.

The actions of the Reagan administration, which broaden and intensify negative trends in Washington's policy and increase the danger of the outbreak of a variety of military conflicts in the world, are nothing other than political irresponsibility. The logic of this trend is fraught with the danger of nuclear war. By abusing its position, resorting to all sorts of sophistries in disorienting public consciousness, direct misrepresentations, manipulating the mass information organs and intensifying the chauvinistic zeal in its own country, the American leadership, in its efforts to please the extreme reactionary circles of the world monopoly bourgeoisie, has proclaimed a anticommunist "crusade." It is to this effect that a tremendous propaganda machine has been launched, making use of the latest technical facilities and subversive and psychological methods. Innumerable examples to this effect could be cited. One of the latest is speculations and fabrications in connection with the accident at the Chernobyl AES. The ruling circles in the capitalist states tried to use it for unseemly purposes. In promoting a propaganda stir concerning the "unreliability" of the protective systems used at Soviet nuclear power plants and the "excessive secrecy" with which,

allegedly, their work is surrounded, these circles have tried to earn doubtful political capital and to draw the attention of the world public away from the Soviet program for total and universal nuclear disarmament and cast aspersions on the entire policy of the Soviet Union. Such efforts have been reflected, in particular, in a special document issued at the conference of the heads of the seven leading capitalist countries in Tokyo. It claims that our country is not showing sufficient responsibility in matters of domestic nuclear power industry. What can we say on this subject? Such statements lack any realistic grounds whatsoever.

In terms of intensiveness, content and methods, the "psychological warfare" unleashed by imperialism is a variety of aggression which violates universally accepted standards of international relations.

"This is a highly immoral campaign," said M.S. Gorbachev in his 14 May speech on Soviet television, accurately assessing the reaction of the political leaders and mass information media of some NATO countries, the United States in particular, to the tragic Chernobyl incident. "They needed a reason," he said, "for their efforts to defame the Soviet Union and its foreign policy, and to weaken the impact of the Soviet proposals on ending nuclear tests and eliminating nuclear weapons and, at the same time, easing the growing criticism of U.S. behavior in the international arena and its militaristic course."

Washington and its zealous allies tried to use the event to erect new barriers on the way to the development and intensification of the dialogue on ending the nuclear arms race. Moscow's reaction to the unfortunate event was different: the Chernobyl AES accident, as the accidents at American, British and other nuclear power plants, are terrible warnings of the fact that the nuclear century demands a new type of political thinking and policy.

The future of the global economy would be hard to imagine without the development of the nuclear power industry which, however, requires great caution and the concentration of the efforts of science and technology on ensuring the safety of mastering the great and frightening forces contained within matter. In this connection, M.S. Gorbachev called for taking specific steps to ensure the substantial intensification of cooperation within the framework of the International Nuclear Energy Agency (IAEA).

Under circumstances in which greater attention is being paid to nuclear problems, having weighed all circumstances related to the security of its own people and all mankind, the Soviet government decided to extend its unilateral moratorium of nuclear tests until 6 August of this year. "Once again we call upon the United States to weigh with all responsibility the extent of the danger threatening mankind and to listen to the opinion of the world community," the Soviet leader said. "Let those who are heading the United States prove in fact their concern for the life and health of the people."

The nuclear century imperatively demands universal responsibility for improving the global political climate.

What role does science play in this situation? As we know, the situation of the overwhelming majority of scientists is not such as to allow them directly to influence the course of political events, for the final decisions are made by the state leaders, who have assumed a tremendous responsibility not only for the fate of their own people but also for the future of all mankind. However, the importance of science is growing as a direct productive force in society and a prerequisite for technical progress. The social consequences of basic scientific accomplishments are universally known. The authority of scientific workers in society is steadily increasing. Many scientists directly or indirectly participate in the development of contemporary weapons and who, if not they, can be aware of the trends in the further development of such armaments and the possible results of their use? The growing civic responsibility of the scientists in the face of the events is obvious. Their duty is not only objectively to inform their governments of the great possibilities of the latest scientific and technical solutions in the area of armaments and to indicate the sources of military threats and forecast the future and contribute to the formulation of efficient solutions, but also comprehensively to tell mankind the truth about the consequences of the use of modern weapons and military ordnance and related not only scientific and technical but also political, social, economic and strategic factors of universal safety and of the preservation of peace and life on earth.

Today's reality is such that as the result of the furious arms race mounted by imperialism, more than 50,000 nuclear charges have been stockpiled, whose overall power is 5,000 times greater than the total amount of explosives used in all previous wars. The Stockholm International Institute for the Study of Problems of Peace has estimated that the power of nuclear-weapon arsenals in the world is being increased by one "nominal" bomb equal in explosive power to the one dropped on Hiroshima every 20 minutes.

In order to free themselves from responsibility for the acceleration of this insane arms race and war preparations, and to defame the policy of countries fighting for peace and social progress, the reactionary Western circles have launched with unparalleled intensivity the false campaign of an imaginary "Soviet military threat." A significant number of people in the capitalist countries are being systematically misled. Doctrines which substantiate the "acceptability" of nuclear war and the possibility of "winning it" are being extensively disseminated. Under such type of "music" the alliance between military-industrial monopolies and militaristic cliques finds it easier to increase the revolutions of its "machine."

Conversely, all peace-loving forces are trying to restrain and hinder it. History itself has assigned to the scientists one of the leading positions in their ranks.

The increased role of the scientific public in the antiwar movement is a major characteristic of contemporary political life. Various organizations of scientists, who come out with antinuclear and antimissile slogans and associations which rally representatives of specific areas of scientific knowledge such as autonomous movements of physicians, physicists and university teachers, are becoming increasingly energetic. There also are broader professional associations such as, for example, the "Union of

Concerned Scientists" in the United States. The "traditional" international scientific societies are also making a great contribution. For decades they have carried out useful activities in the interests of peace and disarmament. Such are, for example, the World Federation of Scientists, the Pugwash Movement, and others. Let us particularly note the growing influence of the "World Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War," an organization with hundreds of thousands of members. Soviet scientists are fruitfully participating in all these movements. They are very active at various international fora, where they promote the enhancement of the role of science in the struggle for peace and the development of creative cooperation for the benefit of social progress.

The recommendations formulated by the Soviet scientists were of major importance in the formulation of the peace-loving initiatives of the Soviet Union.

These initiatives are organic to the very nature of the socialist system. No social forces interested in war and in the arms race exist in our society. "Ending wars, peace among nations and a stop to plunder and violence is precisely our ideal," V.I. Lenin emphasized ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 26, p 304). The founding of the first state of workers and peasants in the world without land owners and the bourgeoisie marked the birth of a qualitatively new and previously unknown type of policy, a policy of peace in the interest of the working people. Embodying within itself lofty humane principles, this policy was based on the struggle against wars, political violence and all forms of exploitation and oppression. "Disarmament is the ideal of socialism" (V.I. Lenin, op. cit., vol 30, p 152).

The aspiration to improve international relations and promote disarmament and peace has been characteristic of the entire history of the land of the soviets. This is a natural, a legitimate manifestation of the humanistic nature of the new society. It is the root of all major and principled features of Soviet foreign policy. Its purpose is maximally to contribute to the improvement of the international situation and thus to the acceleration of the social and economic development of our society and its legitimate progress toward a communist future.

The CPSU is doing everything possible to surmount the negative confrontation trends which have increased in recent years and to clear the way for the elimination of the nuclear arms race and its prevention in outer space, to promote a lessening of the threat of war and to strengthen confidence as an inseparable component of relations among countries.

The most significant step in this direction is the 15 January 1986 declaration by M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, which contains a specific program for the total elimination of nuclear weapons throughout the world over the next 15 years, until the end of this century.

Numerous studies conducted by scientists from different countries, including under the aegis of the United Nations, clearly proved that the use of even a relatively small part of the accumulated nuclear stockpiles would result in the instant death of hundreds of millions of people, the destruction of

tremendous material and cultural values and the tremendous wrecking of production forces; the living would be doomed to slow death. The destructive power on the earth's environment may be such as to trigger a total racemization of the environment, which would destroy not only the animal but also the plant world and result in the total and definitive disappearance of the biosphere, thus hurling the level of development of the planet billions of years back.

Ever since nuclear weapons made their appearance, the Soviet Union has spoken out in the United Nations and at other international fora in favor of banning and destroying them, proceeding from the fact that it is only the peaceful utilization of nuclear energy that can be beneficial to mankind. At one of the first meetings of the Nuclear Energy Commission of the United Nations, on 19 July 1946, our country submitted a draft international convention on banning the production and use of mass destruction weapons based on nuclear energy. At that time, solving this problem of historical significance was relatively easy, and the Soviet Union called upon all countries to join in signing such a convention, solemnly assuming the obligation not to use nuclear weapons under any circumstances, to ban their production and stockpiling and to destroy all stocks of ready weapons or weapons in the making within 3 months. It was suggested that the violation of this obligation be declared a most severe crime against mankind. However, the United States rejected the Soviet proposal, in the hope that possession of the new weapon, would enable it to attain all of its political objectives. The American administration was guided by the illusion of a "long monopoly on atomic means as a source of power" (Ch. Marshall, "The Limits of Foreign Policy," New York, 1954, p 79).

This marked the birth of U.S. "nuclear diplomacy" which became a weapon in the cold war unleashed by imperialism against socialism. The extent of its absurdity has reached a limit today. No monopoly was acquired by the American "hawks," while the international situation worsened and was poisoned by their fault.

As a scientist, I can state most responsibly that our country has the type of scientific and technical and production potential which enables us to create even the most complex weaponry systems in response to any challenge. Similar occurrences, incidentally, have repeatedly taken place in the history of recent decades. This, however, is not our choice. It is a means of action imposed upon us, which is distracting us from peaceful construction.

We reject primitive concepts to the effect that the more weapons a country has the greater its security becomes. In reality, under the conditions of rivalry in increasing the number of nuclear warheads, encouraged by the U.S. military-industrial complex, and the advancement of armaments, the exact opposite to this situation develops.

The qualitatively new level of the military threat raises new requirements concerning means of protection and of ensuring the safety of the civilian population. Action triggers respective counteraction. Such is the vicious circle which can be broken only by reaching essential agreements, the final purpose of which could be only one: the total elimination of nuclear weapons. This path was clearly and convincingly presented in M.S. Gorbachev's 15

January declaration: gradual elimination of nuclear and other mass destruction weapons.

The adoption of the program for nuclear disarmament proposed by the Soviet Union would have a favorable impact on talks taking place at all bilateral and multilateral gatherings on problems of peace, making them purposeful and confident. The dangerous trend according to which the pace of the arms race outstrips the productivity of diplomatic efforts would be broken.

However, in answer to the concept of creating a nuclear-free world, suggested by the Soviet Union, the United States assumed an obstructionist position. The sinister explosions in the state of Nevada are a challenge to world public opinion.

In March 1983 Reagan announced plans for the creation within the foreseeable future of a broad antimissile defense system. This program, known as the "Strategic Defense Initiative" (SDI), presumes the use of near-space as "comprehensive missile shield," allegedly capable of protecting the territory of the United States against strategic ballistic missiles of a likely enemy, according to the authors of this project, by striking at them from orbital platforms along the various sectors of their flight trajectory.

Actually, this would mean shifting armaments and the arena of combat operations into space. That is why the world public named the SDI a program for "star wars."

Let us recall that at the very dawn of the space age, soon after the first man-made earth satellite was launched, in its 15 May 1958 disarmament memorandum, the Soviet Union called for a total ban on the military use of space. However, this peaceful strategic initiative was not supported by the United States and its allies, who clearly to have a free hand for their quite unseemly foreign policy actions. It is true that the further persistent efforts made by the USSR and many other countries nevertheless resulted in the initialing of some international agreements which blocked some areas in the militarization of outer space (the treaty banning nuclear tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water of 1983; the USSR-US treaty on limiting antimissile defense system of 1972, and others).

However, the current agreements do not block all possible ways of transferring the arms race into space, and the Soviet Union has systematically continued to promote the exclusively peaceful utilization of outer space by submitting drafts of new treaties at the United Nations and calling upon the U.S. government to initiate talks on preventing the militarization of space and keeping it free for peaceful cooperation. In his answer to the appeal of the Union of Concerned Scientists, on behalf of the Soviet leadership M.S. Gorbachev most clearly stated that "the Soviet Union will not be the first to march into outer space with weapons. We shall dedicate all efforts to convince other countries, the United States above all, not to take such a fatal step, which would inevitably increase the threat of nuclear war and give an impetus to an uncontrolled arms race in all directions." Based on this objective, our government submitted to the United Nations a radical proposal: a draft treaty banning the use of force in and from outer space to earth.

Meanwhile, appealing to the fear of Americans of a nuclear catastrophe, which had increased as a result of its own policies, the White House is trying to harness tremendous economic resources for the implementation of this chimerical idea; the U.S. administration undertook to assure the public that SDI is nothing but a program of purely scientific research and that, allegedly, it is not mandatory at all that it would lead to the development of a new weapon. Such considerations are nothing but a fraud.

In its time, the "purely scientific" Manhattan Project was also presented as being strictly research. Everyone knows what it turned out to be for the populations of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The project cost \$15 billion; the cost of all scientific research in missile technology over a 30-year period, from 1954-1983, was \$40 billion; the planned cost of the "star wars" research program will be \$26 billion; within a decade (1984-1993); \$60 billion will be spent (according to the Federation of American Scientists, the cost will reach \$90 billion). Should such "research" last another 10 years, the anticipated sum will be \$225 billion! In the face of such amounts, it would be naive to assume that the money will be spent to answer the theoretical question of the possibility of developing offensive space armaments. The statement by (G. Kiuorta) the U.S. President's scientific advisor, is unequivocal: "We are engaged in research not for the sake of broadening our knowledge of physics but to learn how to develop large-scale systems." Therefore, it is by no means a question of "pure" research but of a major stage in increasing a military potential of global significance; hiding behind the verbal screen of the "defensive" nature of the SDI, it is easy to develop and create new and refined means of attack. Incidentally, the entire planned system presumes striking space armaments based on new physical principles: various types of ray weapons, accelerators of elementary particles, electromagnetic guns and antimissiles. The "defense" adjective, added to the "strategic initiative" by the American administration is quite arbitrary, for means of defense in such a broad-scale system can easily turn into means of attack. Generally speaking, this is a system of a new dangerous class of weapons, universal in its combat possibilities, both defensive and offensive.

In his meeting with the delegation of the congress of Nobel Prize winners, M.S. Gorbachev noted that "It is being said that SDI will mark a leap in technology. However, even if we assume that its implementation will advance scientific and technical progress, the following question remains: At what cost will this be achieved? It is absolutely clear that the cost will be the creation of suicidal armaments. An increasing number of people are realizing this, including people in the United States.

"We favor an essentially different way of acceleration of progress in science and technology. We are in favor of technological competition and constructive cooperation under the conditions of lasting and just peace."

The Committee of Soviet Scientists for the Defense of Peace and Against the Nuclear Threat made a comprehensive study of the combat components of the American project for a broad antimissile system, including its limited choices; it studied the scientific and technical and technical-economic aspects, possible countermeasures and the military-strategic and international political consequences of its creation and deployment.



Features were revealed within this system, which clearly do not speak in its favor, even from the military viewpoint. It is not astounding that some by no means peace-loving specialists considered Reagan's proclamation of the SDI to be, to say the least, premature. The system's shortcomings and vulnerable aspects exposed even further the immorality and absurdity of the SDI program. In the final account, its "meaning" is the fact that Reagan and his political group, by misleading public opinion, that in their own country above all, of the American, who will bear the burden of the military expenditures, are trying to secure superprofits for the war-industry corporations and the banks related to them, and promotions, incentives, rewards, etc. for their military.

American sources sometimes consider the scenario of a hypothetical situation in which the opposite side as well has developed an anti-missile defense system. Assumptions are made in such a case of possibly installing missiles carrying nuclear warheads on space platforms, for striking at ground targets. Such assumptions violate the stipulations of the 1967 treaty on principles of the activities of states in the study and utilization of outer space, including the moon and other celestial bodies. Unfortunately, the first step in this direction is already being planned in connection with the development of an x-ray laser for a space antimissile system. It will be triggered by a nuclear explosion (according to one variant a nuclear explosive system would be put in orbit. The fact that its purpose will not be to strike at targets does not change the situation).

The study of a plan for developing a subsystem for the guidance of an antimissile system indicates that that the very complex key electronic elements needed, among others, to identify the targets would be quite vulnerable.

Bearing in mind that a broad antimissile system operating from outer space would have to function on a maximally autonomous basis and that basic decisions to activate it and to use one type of weapon or another will have to be made in a few minutes, the technical limits of its "artificial intelligence" and possible disturbances or errors (even disturbances caused by natural space factors, such as a sharp increase in solar activities) could play a fatal role in some situations, such as triggering the self-activation of orbital stations with consequent "eschatological" consequences. Any accidental automatic triggering of an antimissile system, capable of making a direct strike, could be interpreted as the start of combat operations.

Let us add to this that automated control systems for antimissile defense and automated systems to counter it would turn into some sort of superautomated macrosystem, the proper development of which would be essentially impossible, for it would require full exchange of information among potential enemies and joint tests of the macrosystem, which is obviously out of the question. Consequently, the likelihood of wrong commands issued within the macrosystem would be significantly greater than in ordinary automated systems. Therefore, even from the basic technical viewpoint an obviously senseless situation would develop.

In addition to everything else, a number of major problems exist which contemporary technology cannot answer. Thus, the work of an entire space

defense system, from start to finish, under conditions simulating real combat, cannot be tested. Unlike a traditional antiaircraft defense system, which can improve its features as specific experience is acquired, a space antimissile system should work ideally from the moment it is activated.

Many American politicians are legitimately worried by the fact that a large-scale antimissile system would be most likely activated automatically, for an extremely limited time (about 30 seconds) would be left for the people in charge to make their decision, assuming that the attacking side engages in a massive launch of rapidly accelerating missiles.

More than 110 noted political and public personalities and scientists from the United States, Canada and 10 Western European countries, have appealed against the implementation of the "star wars" program. They include W. Brandt, the former chancellor of the FRG, and former prime ministers E. Heath of Great Britain, A. Jorgensen of Denmark, N. Borten of Norway and J. Den Uyl, of the Netherlands. This document points out the exceptionally dangerous consequences of the militarization of outer space to the entire world. "Space armaments," their appeal says, "will not eliminate nuclear weapons. They would rather make a nuclear war more likely rather than prevent it."

Belief that the technical implementation of the SDI would eliminate in one fell swoop political difficulties which concern everyone today is being forcefully instilled in the minds of the "average American." However, no such "miracle" will take place, for political contradictions can be solved not by technical but by political means, not to mention the fact that one type of military-technical measure or another has always triggered a countermeasure.

The main purpose of such a countermeasure would be to preserve, whatever variant of nuclear attack has been chosen, the capacity for a retaliatory strike unacceptable to the aggressor, roughly similar to the one on which the attacking side is theoretically relying. Such countermeasures could include some local actions striking at vitally important and quite vulnerable elements such as space communications, the guidance system (the most "vulnerable" spot of guided missiles) and various power generators (power systems, explosive and flammable substances, and others). The full picture of the potentially possible countermeasures will become clear when the concept of the so-called broad-scale antimissile "defense" has been finally shaped.

In assessing the effectiveness of the totality of countermeasures, we can confidently say that the impossibility of piercing through a "antimissile shield" is a myth which political adventurers are using to stupefy the simpletons. An entire set of efficient and available means, far less expensive than space weapons exist to this effect. They can be easily used by the side against which the SDI is intended and which would, in any case, retain the capacity for a responsive strike.

Actually, the studies conducted by the Committee of Soviet Scientists, through general and special methods of systems analysis, also lead to a conclusion relative to the strategic balance. The point is that several combinations of already available ground means of counteraction could be used to block the danger of a unilateral violation of the military strategic parity in the

development of SDI, relatively less expensive than a corresponding increase in antimissile potential in outer space. We determined with one of our studies that the cost of a possible ground counteraction is no more than a few percentiles of the cost of a broad-scale antimissile "defense" involving space-based elements.

Therefore, total defense against ballistic missiles and offensive space weapons cannot be guaranteed with a broad antimissile system. The claims of some Western government leaders notwithstanding, it would not lead to a major turn in strategic thinking. Arguments in favor of a certain "stabilizing role" of such a system (in terms of safeguarding peace) are groundless, the more so since in addition to announcing the initiation of work on the SDI program, the United States is intensifying the development of strategic offensive armaments, medium-range nuclear missiles and theatre nuclear weapons. The development of an antimissile system echeloned in outer space will only greatly complicate the problem of reciprocal containment and make it less definite, while the structure of the strategic balance would become more unstable.

According to specialists, the development of an antimissile system in space may stimulate the quantitative growth and qualitative advancement of strategic nuclear armaments. Initiating tests, not to mention deployment, of space weapons would undermine the 1972 SALT-1 Moscow Treaty.

Adding to the strategic forces of one or both sides of yet another essentially new component, such as a broad antimissile system with space-based elements, would confuse the assessment of the strategic balance and create additional difficulties in estimating the correlation of forces of the sides engaged in the talks. Furthermore, developments in this area (as was previously the case with other strategic armaments) would inevitably take different paths in each of the two leading countries. This would intensify even further the asymmetry of the strategic forces of the rivaling sides and hinder their comparison even more. The likelihood of an accidental outbreak of a military conflict would increase.

Finally, another international political consequence of the implementation of the SDI would be that the deployment of a space antimissile system would obstruct Soviet-American cooperation in the use of near-space for peaceful purposes. The great expediency and usefulness of such cooperation are unquestionable both economically and on the scientific and technical level, for the Soviet and U.S. space programs are mutually complementary in many of their aspects. The great significance of this cooperation is obvious also from the viewpoint of the necessary positive development of Soviet-American relations and, therefore, of improving the foreign policy atmosphere and ensuring confidence among nations.

The study of the broad antimissile U.S. system, conducted by the work group of the Committee of Soviet Scientists leads to the conclusion that such a system is clearly unable to depreciate nuclear weapons, the statement of its supporters notwithstanding, and to provide a reliable shield over the U.S. territory, not to mention that of its allies in Western Europe or other parts of the world. Nor can the limited variants of an antimissile system involving

space elements contribute to strengthening the stability of the military-strategic balance. The hopes of the Washington strategists of thus achieving superiority over the USSR and its allies are groundless. Their reliance on the "economic exhaustion" of our country through such competition in the field of space armaments, along with the further deployment of the arms race in the development of nuclear and other mass destruction weapons, is equally unrealistic. One of the conclusions of the study conducted by a group of members and experts of the Committee of Soviet Scientists is the fact that a sufficiently wide variety of accessible and relatively inexpensive measures and possibilities of counteracting the new threats to the USSR and its allies exists.

This does not lower the danger that the development of a broad antimissile system with echelons in outer space would increase even further the ambitious frame of mind of the leading U.S. circles in favor of making a decisive use of military force as their main "argument" in foreign policy. Many "star wars" propagandists are already promoting various concepts of waging nuclear war, trying to prove, contrary to scientific facts and logic, that victory is allegedly possible in such war. Actually, should such a war break out, it would develop into a global conflict with no winners. "In a world saturated with grave contradictions and in the face of the threatening catastrophe the only sensible and only acceptable solution is peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems," the CPSU program stipulates. "This does not mean simply the absence of wars. It means the type of international order in which not military power but good neighborly relations and cooperation dominate, and a broad exchange of scientific and technological achievements and cultural values would take place for the good of all nations. Eliminating the waste of huge resources for military needs would make it possible to channel the results of labor exclusively into constructive purposes. The countries which have taken the path of independent development would be protected from foreign encroachments, which would facilitate their progress toward national and social upsurge. Favorable opportunities would also appear for solving global problems through the collective efforts of all countries."

Never before has the political situation been so alarming for mankind. However, never before have there been such real and substantive prerequisites for preserving and strengthening peace. Scientists of all countries must, in accordance with the unchanging spiritual values they serve, form a united front opposing anything which hinders the natural course of history toward a new and qualitatively more advanced condition of human life. They must comprehensively oppose aggressive imperialist policy and strengthen the growing potential for peace and social progress. A world war is not fatally inevitable. With all difficulties and contradictions of the current situation, mankind's progress toward a happy and free life--in the loftiest meaning of these words--is inevitable and scientists have the duty to contribute to this process.

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CSO:1802/14

## NONALIGNED MOVEMENT -- MAJOR FACTOR OF PEACE AND PROGRESS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 8, May 86 (signed to press 21 May 86) pp 98-108

[Article by I. Kovalenko and Ye. Kobelev]

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee political report to the 27th Party Congress formulates the basic trends of its international activities and the comprehensive tasks it sets in the struggle for peace, international security, disarmament and preventing the threat of a global nuclear war, and for democracy and social progress. Noted among them are the systematic policy of CPSU solidarity with the forces of national liberation and the young liberated states. Our party is firmly on the side of peoples defending their freedom, independence, national dignity and economic autonomy in the struggle against imperialism, and is convinced that its solidarity with them is a major part of the joint struggle for peace and international security.

These are the prerequisites on the basis of which the Soviet communists proceed in defining their attitude toward the nonaligned movement, which is the offspring of the universal national liberation struggle waged by the peoples. "The CPSU understands the objectives and activities of the nonaligned movement. It is in favor of enhancing its role in world politics," the new draft of the party program stipulates. "The USSR will remain on the side of the nonaligned countries in their struggle against the forces of aggression and hegemonism and for settling disputes and conflicts through talks. It will oppose the affiliation of such countries with military-political groups."

This year the nonaligned movement will cross a significant landmark in its development: the 25th anniversary of its organization. During that time it gained unparalleled scope, becoming the largest possible general democratic international association of liberated countries, which has become today a major factor in world politics.

The aggressive nature which marked the establishment and development of the nonaligned movement is best explained with figures. Whereas 25 countries attended the first conference of heads of nonaligned countries (Belgrade, 1961), today the nonaligned movement includes more than 100 countries with a population in excess of 1.5 billion. Furthermore, summit conferences of nonaligned countries are also attended by representatives of more than 20 countries as observers and guests. The geographic spread of the nonaligned movement has broadened significantly. Whereas before 1973 it was essentially found on two continents, i.e., it consisted essentially of countries in Asia and Africa, today, geographically, the participants in the movement are spread as follows: 51 countries in Africa, 29 in Asia, 17 in Latin America, 3 in Europe and 1 in Oceania.

The nonaligned movement was able to achieve impressive successes in the past 25 years for the reason that it is based on two permanent factors. On the one

hand, it objectively meets the interests of peoples which are trying to surmount the difficult legacy of the colonial past and strengthen their political independence, economic development and social progress. On the other, the nonaligned movement has always relied on the progressive forces on earth and, together with them, has actively struggled to solve the basic problems of our time.

The members of the nonaligned movement face an entire set of difficult problems of socioeconomic development. If we were to single out the most essential among them, which are of vital significance to their peoples and to the rest of the world, three such problems stand out:

Safeguarding peace and eliminating the threat of world nuclear catastrophe;

Struggling against all forms of colonialism, imperialist domination and oppression and for free and independent development;

Restructuring international economic relations on the principles of justice, equality and mutual benefit.

Accents in the activities of the movement changed during the different periods of its existence, as circumstances developed. During the initial stage, which was the period of the collapse of the colonial system, its main task was comprehensively to contribute to the success of the national liberation revolutions, the liberation of a greater number of young countries from colonial oppression and the strengthening of their political independence. At the present stage, when the abolishment of the political structure of the imperialist colonial system has been essentially completed, priority is given to the struggle for economic independence and a new international economic order. With all this, however, the nonaligned movement has always remained a major factor for peace, which is of tremendous importance today, when the nuclear arms race unleashed by the forces of imperialism is threatening mankind with self-destruction.

In their very first conference in Belgrade, the heads of states and governments of nonaligned countries declared that war among nations is an anachronism and a crime against mankind, that the "principles of peaceful coexistence are the only alternative to cold war and to a possible universal nuclear catastrophe." The sources of the threat to peace were clearly indicated and it was emphasized that "lasting peace can be secured only if...colonialism, imperialism and neocolonialism are totally eliminated in all of their manifestations."

We note with satisfaction today that the nonalignment, as an international political association, is not remaining passive under the pressure of aggressive militaristic forces but is actively struggling for peace, disarmament, an end to the arms race and lifting the threat of nuclear war. Its role in the struggle for such lofty objectives is increasing with every passing year. Indicative in this respect was the 7th conference of heads of states and governments of nonaligned countries, which was held in New Delhi in 1983. "It is becoming increasingly obvious today," its participants declared, "that no way other than a policy of peaceful coexistence, detente and

cooperation among countries, regardless of differences in their economic and social systems, dimension and geographic location, exists." In their special "New Delhi Appeal," the nonaligned countries called for halting the arms race and "immediately ending the slide toward a nuclear conflict, which not only threatens the well-being of mankind in our time but also that of future generations."

Western politicians are doing their best to instill in the members of the nonaligned movement the idea that nuclear weapons are more threatening to developed than liberated countries, and that the elimination of the nuclear threat is the problem of the two largest nuclear powers--the USSR and the United States. Today, however, the overwhelming majority of nonaligned countries are increasingly realizing that nuclear weapons are threatening all countries and peoples without exception, and that the elimination of this threat is the primary task of anyone who cares for the future of the world and civilization. "It is obvious that the danger of the total annihilation of mankind and, actually, of all life on earth," wrote Romesh Bhandari, the foreign affairs secretary of India's Ministry of External Affairs, in the article "India and the Nonaligned Movement: Two Years After the Delhi Conference," "is so great and is growing with such inexorable speed that we cannot allow ourselves the luxury of indifference or despair. No country can remain unaffected by the horrors of a nuclear conflict, should it break out. Not one among us can remain indifferent to the need for fast disarmament talks." We cannot fail to note here that the extensive program for the struggle for peace and international security and for acquainting the peoples of the world with the truth of the fatal consequences of nuclear war to all life on earth, formulated by the CPSU, played an important role in setting the proper approach taken by the nonaligned countries to the nuclear problem.

The struggle for peace and against the nuclear threat was systematically pursued also at the latest major fora of nonaligned countries--the conference of their foreign affairs ministers (Luanda, September 1985) and the meeting of the coordination bureau (New Delhi, April 1986). The struggle for the prevention of nuclear war, which threatens the very existence of mankind, is the main problem of our time, the final declaration of the Luanda conference stated. The document expressed the concern of the nonaligned countries that "some Western countries" are pursuing a course of accelerating the arms race, including nuclear weapons.

The views of the nonaligned countries are virtually identical to those of the members of the socialist community in matters of the struggle for peace and against the nuclear threat. This became apparent from the results of the 40th UN General Assembly, where they unanimously voted in favor of antiwar resolutions submitted by the Soviet Union, such as "For the Prevention of the Arms Race in Space and Its Peaceful Development," and many others.

Another confirmation was the extensive support which the overwhelming majority of nonaligned countries gave to the program for total and comprehensive elimination of weapons by the year 2000, contained in the 15 January 1986 declaration by M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary. R. Gandhi, India's prime minister and chairman of the nonaligned movement, assessed the new Soviet initiative as follows: "The declaration by M.S.

Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, is very inspiring. We welcome this important initiative with all our hearts. We hope that the other side will respond to it in equally positive terms. The program formulated by the Soviet Union is an alternative to the nuclear arms race in space and a search for real ways to free earth from nuclear weapons."

After emphasizing that the greatest threat to peace is that created by nuclear weapons, the ministers of foreign affairs of nonaligned countries, who took part in the meeting of the coordination bureau in New Delhi, welcomed "the all-embracing and timely program for nuclear disarmament formulated by the Soviet Union." They indicated the urgent need for concluding a treaty totally banning nuclear weapons tests and, in this connection, expressed their regret on the subject of the "nonconstructive position" taken by the United States on the matter of nuclear disarmament.

Throughout the development of the national liberation struggle of the peoples, the nonaligned movement has acted as an irreconcilable enemy of all forms of colonial oppression and imperialist exploitation. Whenever the imperialist countries have encroached on the freedom and independence of the peoples, the nonaligned countries have invariably stood up in the defense of the victims of aggression and, together with the other progressive forces in the world, taken effective steps with a view to curbing acts of international piracy. The victory of the just cause of the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia in the struggle against the aggression of American imperialism was inseparable from the support given by the nonaligned movement. The movement also made a major contribution to the liberation of the former Portuguese colonies in Africa and the abolishment of the colonial system in Zimbabwe. Today extensive and comprehensive support is provided by the nonaligned countries to the Arab peoples, particularly the Arab people of Palestine, who are struggling for the creation of their own independent country, and to the peoples of the countries in Central America, Cuba, Nicaragua and El Salvador above all, which are targets of constant intervention on the part of American imperialism, and to the native population of South Africa and Namibia, who are struggling against racist rule.

A noteworthy event occurred while the 40th UN General Assembly was in session: the 25th anniversary of the Declaration on Decolonization was marked. As we know, the declaration was adopted in 1960 on the initiative of the Soviet Union. In one-quarter of a century dozens of countries, particularly in Africa, were freed from colonial oppression and gained their independence. The nonaligned movement contributed a great deal to the successful implementation of the declaration. Each new victory along this way objectively broadened and strengthened its ranks. In celebrating the 25th anniversary of this historical document, the socialist and nonaligned countries emphasized with increasing insistence the urgency of bringing down the final bastions of colonialism, such as granting independence to Namibia, and abolishing the racist apartheid regime in South Africa. The decolonization process must be brought to its logical end. Such is the persistent demand of all progressive forces of our time.

Economics has become a major battlefield for the nonaligned countries in their fight against world imperialism in recent years. The peoples legitimately



demand a restructuring of international economic relations and the creation of a new international economic order on a just and democratic basis. The solution of this problem is a matter of exceptional difficulty. It will demand lengthy and persistent efforts to force the imperialist countries to abandon their predatory privileges and take the path of equal and mutually profitable economic cooperation with the liberated countries.

Economic problems are assuming an increasing role at conferences of heads of states and governments of nonaligned countries. Special economic declarations are issued based on the results of their discussions. The 7th New Delhi Conference emphasized that the nonaligned countries "are ready to apply all efforts to promote a new international economic order based on justice and equality," considering it "an inseparable part of the common struggle waged by their peoples for political, economic, cultural and social liberation."

The problem of their debts to Western creditors, which have reached the colossal sum of more than \$1 trillion and become one of the key global economic problems, is causing growing concern among the liberated countries. The gravity of the problem today is due not only to the tremendous absolute amount of the debt but also the huge and rapidly growing outflows of repayments from the already limited financial resources of such countries, which weakens and disorganizes their economies even further.

As we know, at the beginning of 1985 F. Castro, prime minister of the revolutionary government of the Republic of Cuba, called for considering the annulment of the debts of Latin American countries or else applying a moratorium on repayment, bearing in mind the impossibility of repaying the Western creditors. This initiative significantly encouraged the popular struggle against imperialist exploitation and contributed to the development of a debate on the debt problem within the nonaligned movement. Grave concern was expressed at the Conference of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of Nonaligned Countries in Luanda on the problem of the debt which, in the eyes of the participants in the conference, has become quite urgent and demands "global political solutions."

The anti-imperialist trend in the activities of the nonaligned movement is clearly not to the liking of those who would like to put it in the service of their interests. This applies above all to the imperialist forces in the United States, who have mounted all-out subversive activities against decisions by the movement they find unsuitable and against their individual participants. As the main opponent of the nonaligned movement, international imperialism is doing all it can to promote division and confusion within it and to dilute its anti-imperialist and antiwar trend. A great variety of pressure methods--economic, political and military--are used to this effect.

U.S. policy toward the nonaligned movement assumes a particularly harsh and openly imperialistic nature with the advent to power of the Reagan administration, which mounted an offensive against Asian, African and Latin American countries on the political and economic fronts. The arsenal of Washington's strategists includes an extensive set of measures. Particular emphasis is put, however, on power and military means. Increasing use is being made of various methods of state terrorism, such as the threat of direct

aggression and intervention, the sending of mercenaries and armed bandit groups, encouraging terrorist groups within independent countries and other subversive actions.

In pursuing their "neoglobalist" course, American official circles arbitrarily proclaim entire parts of the world as areas of their "vital interests," impudently claiming that any conflict situation which breaks out in a Third World country directly affects U.S. interests, for which reason it demands of them "firm action." As viewed from the other side of the ocean, such actions are meant to include "police" operations, similar to the aggression committed against Grenada, and the increasingly indignant nature of subversive activities aimed at overthrowing governments unsuitable to the United States, above all in the young independent countries. The imperial and predatory features of "neoglobalist" policy are clearly manifested in the actions of American imperialists in Nicaragua, Angola, Afghanistan and Cambodia, and the bandit actions against Libya, whose government was even proclaimed by Washington a "regime of outlaws."

However, Washington's efforts to frighten the nonaligned countries with a big stick are having no success. In connection with the barbaric aggression committed by American imperialism against Libya, the ministers of foreign affairs of the nonaligned countries held an extraordinary session in New Delhi at which the piratical actions of the United States against a sovereign nonaligned country were firmly condemned and a demand for their immediate cessation was formulated. A special delegation of the coordination bureau of nonaligned countries paid a solidarity visit to Tripoli, after which it went to New York where it expressed, on behalf of the nonaligned movement, a firm protest to the secretary of the United Nations and the Security Council, in connection with the aggressive U.S. action which was essentially aimed against members of the movement and is creating an extremely dangerous precedent in relations between a great power and an independent nonaligned country.

The U.S. administration is concealing its provocative actions by references to the need to struggle against "international terrorism" which, as is openly stated in Washington, refers above all to the fighters for national liberation. This cannot be considered other than a gross attack against a member of the nonaligned movement, many of whose members gained political independence in the course of national liberation movements and as a result of a lengthy and blood-shedding armed struggle for independence.

Naturally, real terrorism must be most firmly condemned. Such precisely were the motivations of the UN Security Council, in unanimously passing a resolution condemning terrorism and the seizure of hostages. However, the true responsibility for the spreading of terrorism in the world is not that of Arab or other liberated countries but of American imperialism which, raising terrorism to the rank of state policy, is violating the independence and sovereignty of countries and peoples, promoting and ideology of racial and national hatred and pursuing a policy aimed at intensifying tension and an atmosphere of threat of war in conflict areas.

In addition to methods of power pressure, international imperialism extensively uses in its struggle against the nonaligned movement more refined

and concealed means, in an effort to subvert it from within. It is no secret that many of the movement's activities have vulnerable spots and weak sides. This includes the quite varied social nature of its participants, their different levels of economic and political development, and their heterogeneous approaches to the solution of crucial international problems and their views on the objectives and tasks of the movements. In order to subvert its unity and to lead it astray from its anti-imperialist positions, imperialism and reaction engage in concentrated ideological indoctrination of the nonaligned countries; they spread various ideas aimed at promoting discord among the members of the movement and weakening their struggle in solving the crucial problems of our time.

Concepts of "equidistance," "true nonalignment" and "equal responsibility," the doctrine of the "rich North and poor South" are being directed at members of the nonaligned movement. The "nonbloc nature" of the movement is being one-sidedly emphasized and ideas of the need for a "third way" are being formulated, which would erode its anti-imperialist foundations.

Some circles are particularly zealously promoting the concept of "equidistance" from the two main global social forces--the socialist community and the imperialist camp. It is being insinuated to the participants in the movement that it would become truly independent and autonomous only by assuming an "intermediary," a neutral position on all basic problems of global development.

Although occasionally such ideas find supporters among individual nonaligned countries, they are firmly rejected by the movement as a whole. The majority of these countries realize that the concept of "equidistance" conceals, above all, the aspiration to emasculate the movement's anti-imperialist trend, pitted against the socialist community, neutralize the activities of nonaligned countries and turn them into an amorphous mass of passive observers instead of active participants in international relations.

In laying the foundations of the nonaligned movement, Jawarhal Nehru emphasized that not being close to either military-political group does not mean adopting a position of neutrality and passiveness or isolation in international affairs. He saw in the policy of nonalignment above all a positive content, the possibility of the young liberated countries, which had only joined the global community, to act on the basis of energetic and aggressive positions on the basic problems of our time in the interest of their successful development and the peaceful and happy future of all mankind. From the very beginning, this approach was an objective base for cooperation between the nonaligned countries and the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. Why should the nonaligned movement be artificially "equidistant" from the socialist community if their objectives and interests in the main and determining features, particularly as far as international development is concerned, coincide or are very similar? As F. Castro justifiably emphasized at the 4th Conference of Nonaligned Countries (Algiers, 1973), "To deprive us of friendship with the socialist camp means to weaken the nonaligned countries and leave them at the mercy of the still powerful imperialist forces. This would be a short-witted strategy and tremendous political nearsightedness."

The results of the latest major fora of the nonaligned countries once again indicated that the nonaligned movement is guided in its activities not in the least by the notorious concept of "equidistance," which others are trying to impose upon it, but by the interests of defending universal peace, and strengthening international solidarity with all countries and peoples fighting for freedom and independence.

The term "information imperialism" has been appearing with increasing frequency in the documents of the nonaligned movement in recent years. This term means a special form of struggle waged by international imperialism against the revolutionary and progressive forces of our time, world socialism and the national liberation movement of the peoples, a struggle waged through the extensive use of ideology, propaganda and mass information media. The main targets of "information imperialism" are the liberated countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The absence of a developed information service, weak technical facilities and dependence on Western information agencies in their television and motion picture industries allow the imperialist countries to promote extensive ideological expansion in the young independent countries.

The nonaligned movement has long been aware of the major threat posed by "information imperialism" and the dominance of imperialist propaganda and information services and has initiated a systematic struggle against these evils in two areas: first, the concept of a "new international information order" (NIIO) was formulated and is being expanded gradually; second, regional and international associations of news agencies are being set up by the developing countries. Thus, a pool of news agencies of nonaligned countries was set up in 1976 and is gradually gathering strength.

In their view, the new international information order is a structural component of the overall decolonization process, which does not end with political and even economic liberation, for a third and extremely important form of dependence--spiritual--remains. The NIIO, therefore, presumes the decolonization of information exchanges and the establishment of cultural sovereignty and spiritual liberation, without which total decolonization is impossible.

The New Delhi Conference of Nonaligned Countries paid great attention to the struggle against "information imperialism." Important decisions were adopted at the second conference of information ministers of these countries (Jakarta, January 1984). In particular, an appeal to all countries to support the NIIO and its corresponding program of action was approved. The participants in the conference passed a resolution in support of UNESCO and its activities in international mass information. As a whole, the results of the New Delhi and Jakarta conferences proved once again the resolve of the nonaligned countries to pursue and broaden the struggle for decolonization and democratization of international exchange of information and their growing opposition to Western "information imperialism."

On the eve of and during each summit nonaligned conference, the Washington administration and its envoys engage in a lot of arm twisting among the representatives of the nonaligned countries to block any critical remarks addressed to it in the conference's documents. Should these efforts fail, the

administration begins to abuse the host country and the participants in the conference. The reaction to the results of the 7th New Delhi Conference, in which the U.S. Department of State grossly accused its participants for their alleged "unfair attacks" on American policy, was particularly obvious in this connection.

As we know, the Luanda conference of ministers of foreign affairs of nonaligned countries adopted the motion of the African countries that the next 8th conference of heads of states and governments of nonaligned countries be held in Harare the capital of Zimbabwe between 26 August and 7 September 1986. Reports appeared in the world press to the effect that the imperialist circles were concerned by this fact. The point is that the host country automatically becomes chairman of the movement for the next 3 years and, therefore, has great possibilities of influencing the political trend of its activities and its main documents. In the 1979-1982 period, when socialist Cuba chaired the nonaligned movement, its anti-imperialist and anticolonialist trend intensified significantly. This triggered a hateful reaction on the part of U.S. imperialism. An unprecedented campaign of hostility against Cuba was unleashed. Cuba was accused of "radicalizing" the movement and abandoning "true nonalignment." The imperialist strategists did not even attempt to conceal their joy when Cuba's chairmanship ended and openly stated that they were hoping for a "beginning of a new era" in the activities of the movement and a return to its "starting principles."

The results of the New Delhi conference and the 3 years of India's chairmanship of the nonaligned movement indicated that the hopes of the imperialist circles of turning the movement to the right and make it its obedient partner had failed once again. First under Indira Gandhi's and, subsequently, Rajiv Gandhi's chairmanship, the prestige and influence of the nonaligned movement became even greater and India earned the respect of the world by its efforts aimed at strengthening universal peace and international security and eliminating hotbeds of tension and conflicts.

As to Zimbabwe, the people on the other side of the ocean do not conceal their fears that after this "frontline state" becomes the chairman of the nonaligned movement, the latter will pay the closest possible attention to problems of South Africa and Namibia and to the continent as a whole. This, precisely, was confirmed by the documents adopted in Luanda by the ministers of foreign affairs of nonaligned countries. In their final declaration, statement on the situation in South Africa and message of support of Nelson Mandela, the leaders of the African National Congress, who is wasting away in the prisons of the racist regime, the ministers demanded an immediate resolution of the Namibian problem on the basis of the familiar resolution of the UN Security Council. They condemned the crimes of the South African apartheid regime and emphasized that terror and repression against the South African population and the aggressive actions of the racist regime against African countries were possible only thanks to the active support given Pretoria by the United States and other Western countries.

The nonaligned movement earned a high international reputation and became one of the most important factors in global politics above all thanks to the fact that it set as its main objective the struggle for universal peace, against

the forces of aggression and imperialism, for a halt to the arms race and against the threat of nuclear war. Under the new historical conditions of the resumed Soviet-American dialogue as well, the most important task of the nonaligned countries remains the struggle for preserving peace and halting the arms race.

It is no secret that some Western circles are trying to instill in the nonaligned countries the idea that now, when the dialogue between the "nuclear superpowers" has begun, everything will go smoothly so that in the future, particularly at the forthcoming conference in Harare, it would be better not to waste their time on discussing problems of disarmament and the struggle against the threat of nuclear war.

This idea is quite dangerous and treacherous, for we must not forget that whereas the Soviet Union is systematically promoting a halt to the arms race and the total elimination of nuclear weapons, the United States undertook to discuss such problems within the framework of its dialogue with the USSR by coercion, under the pressure of the peace-loving forces on earth, among which the nonaligned movement plays an important role.

Therefore, it is not the demobilization of efforts but, conversely, their intensification within the framework of a general political peaceful offensive by the socialist states, the nonaligned countries and all forces of peace and progress that are needed today in order to exert mass pressure on the ruling U.S. circles to make them join the Soviet moratorium on nuclear explosions, abandon the implementation of their "Strategic Defense Initiative" (SDI) and open the way to the total elimination of nuclear and chemical weapons. These four key demands are a strategic long-term program for the struggle waged by the peace-loving forces for meeting the profound expectation of mankind--saving our planet from the threat of self-destruction.

The Soviet Union and the other members of the socialist community consider the nonaligned movement part of the global anti-imperialist front of struggle and a major political force for peace, social progress and the improvement of the international situation.

It is indicative that the Soviet Union is the only great power to assume the international obligation, repeatedly confirmed, to respect the policy of nonalignment. Thus, the USSR-Ethiopia Friendship and Cooperation Treaty emphasizes that "the USSR respects the policy pursued by Socialist Ethiopia, based on the objectives and principles of the charter of the Organization of African Unity and the nonaligned movement, which is a major factor in the development of international cooperation and peaceful coexistence." The positive attitude adopted by the Soviet Union toward the nonaligned policy of countries friendly to it is also confirmed by the Soviet-Indian, Soviet-Afghan and other friendship and cooperation treaties.

The interests, objectives and views held by the members of the socialist community and the nonaligned countries essentially coincide on major problems of contemporary global developments, such as the struggle for peace and disarmament, against the threat of nuclear war, imperialism, colonialism, and racism, for strengthening the political and economic independence of the

nonaligned countries and many others. The declaration of the Warsaw Pact members (Sofia, 23 October 1985) notes the growing role of the movement in international affairs, emphasizing that "fully respecting the autonomy of this movement and the principles on which it is founded, the socialist states represented at the conference are ready to continue actively to cooperate with the nonaligned countries in the struggle for eliminating the threat of war, for disarmament, peace and detente, against neocolonialism and racism and for national independence, and for solving international economic problems.

The members of the socialist community are reliable allies of the liberated countries in their struggle against economic plunder by Western imperialist countries and multinational corporations. They firmly favor, the declaration stated, "the normalizing of international relations in the areas of economics, science and technology, the elimination of any artificial barriers and discriminatory restrictions, taking steps to strengthen confidence in economic relations, the reorganization of the entire system of international economic relations on a just and democratic basis, the establishment of a new international economic order and the elimination of underdevelopment."

The nonaligned movement draws its inspiration from the fact that its ideals and objectives meet with the understanding and support of world socialism. The overwhelming majority of nonaligned countries clearly realize that the consistent anti-imperialist peace-loving policy of the Soviet Union and the other members of the socialist community is consistent with their profound national interests. The closeness of views shared by socialist and nonaligned countries and their total opposition to those held by the United States and its allies, even from the viewpoint of quantitative indicators, are clearly seen in the results of votes in the United Nations taken in recent years, when in almost nine out of 10 cases the bulk of the liberated countries have voted with the socialist countries rather than the United States.

In undertaking one action or another in the international arena, the Soviet Union and the socialist community as a whole proceed not only on the basis of the interests of their own peoples but also of all peoples of the world, including the liberated countries, members of the nonaligned movement. Indicative in this respect are the latest major international initiatives of the Soviet Union. M.S. Gorbachev's suggestion of totally eliminating nuclear weapons and halting the arms race is consistent with the vital needs of the liberated countries, for their trillion indebtedness is the direct consequence of the arms race. It is no accident that the size of the huge U.S. military budget practically coincides with the roughly \$300 billion in profits annually extracted by the imperialist powers out of these countries. "The principle of arming instead of developing, imposed by militarism," M.S. Gorbachev pointed out, "should be replaced by the opposite order of things: disarmament for the sake of development.... The Soviet Union wants each step leading to curbing and limiting armaments and each step toward freedom from nuclear weapons not only to bring greater security to the peoples but also make it possible to allocate more funds to improve the living conditions of the people."

The heads of many nonaligned countries have paid friendly visits to the Soviet Union. They have included R. Gandhi, the current chairman of the nonaligned movement, and R. Mugabe, the head of government of the Republic of Zimbabwe,

the country which will chair the movement for the 3 years which will follow the 8th conference. In the course of such visits the Soviet leaders have invariably emphasized the political importance of the active role of the nonaligned movement in world affairs. They noted with satisfaction the fact that Harare was chosen as the site of the next conference of heads of states and governments of nonaligned countries, confirming the high prestige of the Republic of Zimbabwe and its leadership in the international arena, and expressed their wishes for success in holding the conference.

The nonaligned movement can be considered with full justification one of the most important components of the universal potential for peace, reason and goodwill. The study of the trends of contemporary international development indicates that nonalignment, as a factor of global politics, has great possibilities and can have a positive impact on the development of the international situation for a long time to come. This means that despite an occasional inconsistency in the approach to some contemporary problems, it will remain one of the important and influential forces objectively engaged, together with world socialism, in solving international problems.

That is why the policy of cooperation and interaction on basic problems of global development by the two powerful international and political forces of our time--the socialist community and the nonaligned movement--is not only a historically tried but also a trend with a great future in the struggle against imperialism and neocolonialism, for peace, international security and disarmament and for the bright future of all mankind.

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## OUR SPIRITUAL WEALTH

### PHILOSOPHICAL WORK OF UNFADING IMPORTANCE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 8, May 86 (signed to press 21 May 86) pp 109-118

[Article by Academician T. Oyzerman. On the occasion of the centennial of F. Engels' work "Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy"]

[Text] Engels' work "Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy" plays a special role in Marxism's legacy. As V.I. Lenin pointed out, it is "the handbook of any conscientious worker" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 23, p 43). The book discusses the great problems the solution of which had puzzled many a brilliant mind. It was published in DIE NEUE ZEIT, the theoretical organ of the German social democrats, in the spring of 1886.

The reason for its writing was the publication in 1885 of the book "Ludwig Feuerbach" by Danish philosopher K.N. Starke, in which a positive reference to the work of the brilliant German materialist was distorted by a false and essentially philistine interpretation of the basic contradiction between materialism and idealism. Engels substantively and wittily criticized this vulgar caricatured concept which, incidentally, is still found in bourgeois philosophers. Naturally, however, Engels could not stop there. He pitted against Starke and all bourgeois vulgarizers of materialism the theoretical substantiation of the laws of the radical polarizing of philosophy in diametrically opposed directions: materialistic and idealistic. It was precisely in this connection that a most profound study was made of the two most outstanding pre-Marxian philosophical doctrines: Hegel's dialectical idealism and Feuerbach's anthropological materialism. Both philosophers were representatives of classical German philosophy, completing its progress at a given stage. Naturally, therefore, questions arise of Feuerbach's attitude toward his great predecessor and of the attitude of Marxism toward the outstanding intellectual baggage of the past and the progressive ideological currents of the time.

In the preface to the separate publication of his work in 1888, Engels pointed out that Feuerbach "is, in a certain sense, the link between Hegel's philosophy and our theory" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 21, p 370). Understandably, therefore, Engels deemed necessary to describe in a concise form the connection between Marxism and Hegelian philosophy. "In

precisely the same manner," he wrote, "I believed that we would end up owing a debt of honor: the full recognition of the influence which Feuerbach had on us in our time of storms and pressure, more than that of any philosopher except for Hegel" (ibid., p 371). It is thus that a work originally planned as a polemic turned out into a study of the history and prehistory of Marxist philosophy and a brief classical description of its most important concepts.

Engels wrote his book in a highly clear and easy style. One could describe it as the most convincing rebuttal of Hegel's statement to the effect that philosophy (his philosophy above all) cannot be presented in a popular style. It is true that it may seem to the naive reader, who may have a nonphilosophy-oriented training, that a single attentive reading of Engels' work would be sufficient to master completely its ideological wealth. This is a dangerous delusion which may lead only to annoying superficiality. One cannot merely read or reread a work of genius, which is precisely what Engels' is. It must be systematically studied and reread, adding to it other sources needed to gain effective knowledge of scientific philosophy and the ability to apply it in theoretical research and practical activities. That is precisely why Lenin qualified Engels' book as a manual, i.e., the type of aid to which one should address oneself daily, throughout life.

It was as appendages to the separate publication of Engels' work that Marx's famous "Theses on Feuerbach," appeared, discussed by Engels in the preface we cited, in which he wrote that "they are invaluable as a first document containing the brilliant embryo of a new world outlook" (ibid., p 371).

To this day theoretical debates and ideological confrontations on the subject of Engels' classical work continue unabated. This is natural, for a clash is taking place in the historical arena between objectively opposite worlds and radically different social systems in their very essence.

Nor are passions quieting down on the basic problem of philosophy, the correlation between the spiritual and the material. Engels explained that this problem develops historically as a basic one and raises to its full magnitude only in modern times. It was precisely during the time of the 17th and 18th-century bourgeois revolutions, when bourgeois philosophy, which was still progressive and was struggling against the dictatorship of the church, exposing religious prejudices, that a basic conceptual choice between materialism and idealism became increasingly necessary. In this connection as well, the basic philosophical problem which created the urgency of making not only a theoretical but also an ideological choice became the initial, the starting point of any philosophical theory, predetermining the solution of all other problems.

The history of the natural sciences proved that matter and motion are eternal and indestructible. It was thus that the development of scientific knowledge refuted the theory of creationism, a religious doctrine on the creation of the world by god, to which idealism is historically and logically linked. Progress in biology, in physiology in particular, proved that mental activities are determined by the functioning of the nervous system, mainly by its superior part--the brain. The progress made in production forces and science, inseparably linked with them, proved with equal strength the

dependence of cognitive activities on material conditions. Practical experience itself, the content of which is always in the mind of man and is subject to his interpretation, formulates the question of the correlation between the ideal and the material. To the extent of his awareness of an objective reality, which exists regardless of the mind, man distinguishes between his own awareness and the objects of said awareness and finds himself in a situation in which the basic problems of philosophy are identified and formulated. However abstract this question may initially appear to be, it is rooted in the basic facts of human life and stems from human practices, which presume a specific attitude of the mind toward a life independent of it. That is why the basic philosophical problem is not some kind of speculative problem but, actually, a problem of life, practice and knowledge.

In emphasizing the tremendous conceptual importance of Engels' discovery, V.I. Lenin also developed his theory on the basic problem of philosophy. The concepts of the spiritual and the material (and, respectively, the subjective and the objective) are extremely broad, covering all that is, all that is possible and all that is conceivable. It is true that some philosophers claim that a broader concept nevertheless exists: the concept of being. The latter, however, as a closer study reveals, is always material or, conversely, spiritual. Thereby Lenin's conclusion that "...Essentially, no formulation of the last two gnosiological concepts is possible other than indicating that which is to be considered primary" (op. cit., vol 18, p 149). This substantiation of the alternate nature of the main philosophical question is also proof of the need for its consistent solution, alien to eclecticism.

The main problem of philosophy, however, as Engels explained in "Ludwig Feuerbach..." has another, a gnosiological, aspect. What is the correlation between our consciousness and surrounding reality? Do we know the world or else is that which we consider to be knowledge deprived of objective content? All consistent materialists acknowledge the essential knowability of the world.

In noting this fact, some authors of philosophy textbooks claim that, unlike the materialists, the idealists firmly reject the knowability of the world. This is a simplistic viewpoint which disagrees with the history of philosophy and with what Engels said in "Ludwig Feuerbach..." in which he clearly wrote that "The tremendous majority of philosophers give an affirmative answer to this question" (K. Marx and F. Engels, op. cit., vol 21, p 238). After making this statement, Engels proceeded to describe Hegel as a philosopher who acknowledged the absolute knowability of the world, but as a knowledge which is infinite and endless and, consequently, always historically limited. It seems to me that the gnosiological optimism of Hegel, the objective idealist, is quite instructive and of interest not to historians of philosophy alone.

We find the purposeful development of Engels' conclusions in Lenin's "Materialism and Empiriocriticism." Lenin's theory of reflection offers a materialistic solution to the gnosiological aspect of the main problem of philosophy, for "a reflection cannot exist without a reflected object, whereas a reflected object can exist without being reflected" (op. cit., vol 18, p 66). As to the subjective idealists, by rejecting the gnosiological principle of reflection they interpret the process of knowledge as the "streamlining" of

sensations and the structuring of concepts according to the principle of "economy of thought" or on the basis of any other rule. It is not astounding that a significant percentage of bourgeois philosophers, contemporary in particular, are agnostics, for the starting point and basic premise of their theoretical considerations is subjective idealism. The extreme degree of this view on the world is a solipsism, the acknowledgment of the exclusive existence of the philosophizing individual. Agnosticism is also inherent in both existentialists and neopositivists as well as among the majority of "critical rationalists," whose leader, K.R. Popper, proclaims that truth is essentially inaccessible to science in which, in his view, nothing but opinions exist. However, we cannot fail to note the fact that both in Engels' time and today progressive bourgeois scientists, although proclaiming their agnosticism, frequently prove to be, to use Engels' expression, "bashful materialists."

The solution which the Marxist-Leninist classics have given to the basic problem of philosophy provides the foundations for a scientific philosophical understanding of the world as a single related entity. The theory of the most general laws of dynamics and development of nature, society and knowledge is a necessary conclusion based on the dialectical materialistic understanding of the correlation between the spiritual and the material.

In his critical interpretation of the progressive ideological and theoretical legacy of the past, Engels describes Hegel's philosophy as "a grandiose result of all previous development in philosophy" (K. Marx and F. Engels, op. cit., vol 21, p 279). Dialectics was developed with unparalleled substantiveness, system and depth in Hegelian philosophy, as the most complete and profound theory of development. However, Hegel's idealistic system, which he himself characterized as metaphysics (in the sense of absolute and supernatural reality), turned out to be the Procrustean bed of the dialectical method. In exposing the contradiction between Hegel's system and method and proving the way in which the system distorts both method and dialectics, the founders of Marxism nevertheless considered the identification and materialistic reworking of Hegelian dialectics. Let us recall that in the postface of the second edition of the first volume of "Das Kapital," unlike the vulgar critics of Hegel's doctrine, Marx wrote: "The hoax to which dialectics was subjected in Hegel's hands did not prevent in the least the fact that Hegel was precisely the first to provide a comprehensive and conscious depiction of its universal forms of motion. Hegel put dialectics upside-down. It must be put back on its feet in order to find the kernel of rationality under the hoax" (K. Marx and F. Engels, op. cit., vol 23, p 22).

In the light of this assessment of essential significance, the absolute groundlessness of pitting Marx's philosophical views against Engels' is manifested most obviously. As the content of "Ludwig Feuerbach..." confirms, its author systematically develops Marx's basic statement. Hegel's philosophy, Engels wrote, "parted once and for all with any kind of idea on the definitive nature of the results of human thoughts and actions. The truth, which philosophy must find, was conceived by Hegel no longer as a collection of ready-made dogmatic concepts which had only to be memorized after their discovery; the truth now consisted of the process of knowledge itself, of the lengthy historical development of science ascending from lower

to ever higher levels of knowledge... Like consciousness, history cannot end in some kind of perfect or ideal condition attained by mankind. The perfect society and perfect 'state' are things which can exist only in the imagination" (K. Marx and F. Engels, op. cit., vol 21, p 275). Engels explains that these views were not expressed by Hegel "in such a drastic form," but are conclusions based on Hegel's method.

The circumstance that the philosopher himself softened and dampened revolutionary conclusions by proclaiming, for example, the constitutional monarchy as the last, the highest form of political development of society, precisely confirms the existence of an internal conflict inherent in his philosophy, which is the contradiction between method and system. In terms of its content, this theoretical contradiction had profound social roots: the bourgeois philosopher was organically unable to understand the historically transient nature of the degree of social development the need for which he substantiated and, naturally, absolutized. It is true that it cannot be said that Hegel idealized or praised the capitalist world. However, he saw no other historical alternative to feudalism, for no such alternative existed at that time.

However, in considering bourgeois social changes not only as historically inevitable but also as completing the history of mankind, Hegel, alas, betrayed dialectics, and that is why he considered that bourgeois (constitutional) monarchy, Christianity transformed by Protestantism and his own philosophy were absolute forms of spiritual life of mankind, not subject to change. In this manner, as Engels notes, "a very superior revolutionary method of thinking ended in a very peaceable political conclusion" (ibid., p 277).

To Hegel, the ideology of the bourgeois revolution and the establishment of a capitalist system, to the extent to which it destroyed the feudal order, seemed a suitable manifestation and realization of human nature, the substantial freedom. Bourgeois democratic illusions obtained their abstract philosophical expression in the familiar Hegelian claim that what is is always superior to what is possible. Naturally, this is a one-sided view which ignores future developments. Social progress, not only socioeconomic and political but also scientific and technical and spiritual, is the most convincing and practical proof that the area of the possible and attainable in the future is incomparably richer than the already extant historically limited reality.

That is precisely why, essentially in opposition to Hegel, that Marx claimed that in its rational aspect dialectics includes both a positive understanding of what is and an understanding of its rejection, "for it considers each form in its dynamics. Consequently, even in its temporary aspects it does not yield to anything and is essentially critical and revolutionary" (K. Marx and F. Engels, op. cit., vol 23 p 22).

Unquestionably, Hegel's dialectics lacked the features described by Marx, such features being inherent only in materialistic Marxist dialectics. However, in proving that Hegelian dialectics was the opposite of dialectical materialism, the founders of Marxism emphasized the historical continuity between them. In

"Ludwig Feuerbach...", Engels sarcastically mocks the opponents of Hegelian philosophy who see nothing but artificial logical structures in it. He pits against these nearsighted critics the scientific approach which does not excessively dwell on the obvious inconsistencies in Hegel's speculative system but, by penetrating deeper inside this grandiose building, "find in it countless treasures which have retained their full value to this day" (K. Marx and F. Engels, op. cit., vol 21, p 278).

Naturally, we should not forget that this was said 100 years ago. Since then Marxist philosophy has comprehensively developed the theory of dialectical materialism, particularly thanks to Lenin's brilliant studies. But was it not Lenin who called upon us, Marxists, to continue the revolutionary critical study and mastery of Hegelian dialectics in his article "On the Importance of Militant Materialism?" Are Lenin's "Philosophical Notebooks" not a brilliant example of the manner in which Hegelian dialectics can be reworked materialistically?

Despite unquestionable successes in solving the problem posed by Lenin, we must admit most frankly and self-critically, that we are still quite far from its definitive solution.

Engels' work is an instructive example of what the materialistic reworking of Hegelian dialectics actually means.

Both during Hegel's time and subsequently, the reactionary ideologues have rejected Hegelian dialectics, claiming that it allegedly conflicts with logic and common sense. They have pitted against it the metaphysical way of thinking as the only one consistent with the standards of logic and common sense. Hegel was considered a "dead dog." Marx ironically described one such critic: he "was amazed that Engels and I, as well as others, took Hegel, the dead dog, seriously, after Buchner, Lange, Dr Duhring, Fechner and others had way back agreed that they had long buried this poor man" (K. Marx and F. Engels, op. cit., vol 32, p 571).

Incidentally, it would be suitable to point out that unlike Hegel's reactionary and liberal critics, the Russian revolutionary democratic philosophers were profoundly aware of the true significance of his dialectics, aptly characterized by A.I. Hertzén as the algebra of the revolution.

In our time, bourgeois philosophers are literally specializing in the critique of Hegel's philosophy. Thousands of studies have been written on the subject. It is true that Hegel is no longer abused but is even quite frequently praised. However, a deeper study of the latest bourgeois assessments of Hegelian philosophy would reveal that they are severely distorting its positive and progressive content. Thus, R. Kroner, one of the founders of neo-Hegelianism, who claims to be the true interpreter of Hegel's doctrine, has described Hegel as "the greatest irrationalist" in the entire history of philosophy. Contemporary irrationalism of the existentialist and individualistic variety, unreservedly rejects the Hegelian understanding of reality as reasonable and of reason as reality. From the viewpoint of this anti-intellectual theory, anything real is unreasonable and anything reasonable is unreal.

The contemporary positivists, who claim to have created the "philosophy of science," consider Hegel's dialectical idealism a theory essentially hostile to science. Thus, H. Reichenbach, the known neopositivist, claims that Hegel's system "can be studied as a model of what philosophy should not be" (H. Reichenbach. "Der Aufstieg der wissenschaftlichen Philosophie" [The Ascent of the Science of Philosophy], Brunswick, 1968, p 82). In order to understand the reason for which contemporary bourgeois philosophers, most of them, in any case, are so unreservedly hostile to Hegelian philosophy, we must consider not only their inability to master the dialectics, the revolutionary aspect of Hegel's theory, but also their ideological motivations which determine this inability. That same Reichenbach actually indicates these motivations, by claiming that "I assume that today Hegel would not have become so notorious without finding support beyond his philosophy in Karl Marx's historical materialism" (ibid., p 86). The essence of the matter, therefore, is that Hegel's dialectics is associated in the mind of its bourgeois opponent with Marxist dialectics, the incompatibility between which and the bourgeois outlook is absolutely obvious.

It is thus that Hegel, the progressive bourgeois philosopher, became the ally of Marxist-Leninist philosophy in the contemporary ideological struggle. Naturally, this is no accident. Contemporary reactionary bourgeois ideology is rejecting its historical past. Hegel's historical optimism and belief in the possibility and necessity of a sensible reorganization of the world were legitimately extended and developed in Marxism-Leninism.

Feuerbach, the most outstanding representative of pre-Marxian materialistic philosophy in Germany, began his intellectual development as a Hegelian. Later on, however, by the end of the 1830s, he firmly opposed Hegel's idealistic theory which at that time ruled unchallenged German spiritual life. Feuerbach proved that the initial stipulations of Hegelianism were a rationalistic reworking of Christian theology. Nature, Feuerbach claimed, is the prime, the absolute reality and not an "alienation" of divine thought known as the "absolute idea," as Hegel described it. Nothing can be above or below nature. The question of the correlation between mind and existence is one of the nature of man, for it is precisely man who can think. Consequently, to the extent to which it can answer this question (Feuerbach comes very close to the understanding that this precisely is the main question of philosophy), philosophy must become anthropological, a theory of man as a being within which nature senses, imagines and interprets itself. "The new philosophy," Feuerbach wrote, "turns man and nature, as the basis of man, into the only, the universal and supreme object of philosophy, converting anthropology, including physiology, into a universal science (L. Feuerbach, "Izbr. Filos. Proizv." [Selected Works on Philosophy]. In two volumes. Vol 1, Moscow, 1955, p 202).

Feuerbach's anthropological materialism was an attempt to surmount the mechanical limitations imposed by the materialism which preceded it. Feuerbach considered that the anthropological and the human factor was a unity of nature with society, thus emphasizing the difference between man and other living beings.

Feuerbach tried to substantiate his atheistic outlook on the grounds of philosophical anthropology. Unlike the French 18th century atheists, who considered religion the product of ignorance and fraud, Feuerbach proved that religion has a real although by no means a supernatural content. Human suffering and the hope of eliminating it, and fear of death and the aspiration to rise above it was the real content of religion. It is thus that Feuerbach came close to understanding religion as a reflection of human life, although he failed to realize that a religious consciousness reflects not only man's feelings but also his enslavement by antagonistic social relations. However, the fact that religion itself is a historically transient phenomenon cannot be understood without understanding that its roots are also historically transient. It is natural, therefore, that by rejecting religion as a system of imaginary concepts, Feuerbach deems it necessary to create a religion without god, something in the nature of the deification of man and interpersonality relations, love in particular, which he considered to be the true expression of religion. All of these convictions were most fully expressed in "The Nature of Christianity," a book which came out in 1841.

Engels describes the impression created by this book as follows: "The enthusiasm was universal: All of us became Feuerbachians that very instant. One can imagine the enthusiasm with which Marx welcomed this new view and the great impact it had on him, despite all critical caveats, by reading "The Holy Family" (K. Marx and F. Engels, op. cit., vol 21, p 281). This initial joint work by Marx and Engels does indeed bear the imprint of anthropological materialism. However, in his "Theses on Feuerbach," which he wrote in 1845, Marx already then subjected to thorough criticism Feuerbach's contemplative materialism, exposing above all the author's typical lack of understanding of the gnosiological and social role of practical experience. He pointed out Feuerbach's insufficient criticism of religious alienation, which did not go so far as to analyze antagonistic social relations leading to the religious duplication of the world. In defining man's nature as the sum of all social relations, Marx argued against the anthropological, the abstract understanding of human nature which, as Feuerbach said, is nothing other than the mind, the will and the heart.

The entire first part of "German Ideology," which was the second joint work by the founders of Marxism, deals with the materialistic concept of history, the presentation of which is also a critique of Feuerbach's idealistic concept of social life. As Marx and Engels point out, it takes more than a rejection of the idealistic assumption of supernatural, of superhuman reality to develop a materialistic understanding of society. The latter calls for determining the specifically material foundation of social life, which is substantially different from nature, which exists regardless of man. Yet we find in Feuerbach not even a hint of understanding of the role of material production.

As we know, "German Ideology" was not published during Marx's life time. This made necessary the systematic clarification of the Marxist attitude toward Feuerbach's materialism. It was Engels who undertook to accomplish this task in his "Ludwig Feuerbach..." While noting Feuerbach's outstanding role in the history of materialism and the critique of German classical idealism, Engels drew the attention of his readers to the main faults in his philosophy: lack of understanding of dialectics and an idealistic interpretation of history.



Feuerbach rejected Hegel's system as being fundamentally groundless and as justifying a religious outlook. However, to proclaim a system faulty does not in itself mean to put an end to it. "He did not defeat Hegel through the weapons of criticism but simply discarded him as unusable...", Engels wrote (ibid., p 300). In Hegel's dialectics Feuerbach saw nothing but idealism. The fact that Hegelian dialectics was used to substantiate the idealistic system prevented Feuerbach from understanding its essence, regardless of its idealistic philosophizing.

Feuerbach's anthropologism proved groundless in terms of the history of philosophy as well. In proving the unity of the entire human species and rejecting feudal prejudices regarding the "natural" superiority of "higher" classes, unquestionably Feuerbach proved himself a progressive philosopher, a democrat. Nevertheless, he also proved himself totally unable to explain why, despite the anthropological unity of the human species, were there social "tops" and social "bottoms," and what was the reason for the poverty of the working people. As to the means of eliminating social inequality, Feuerbach never posed this question, not directly in any case, assuming that the humanistic task of philosophy was to ease the contradiction between haves and have-nots through sermons of humanism and love, this being the truly human attitude of man to man. As Engels emphasizes, "according to Feuerbach love is urbi et orbi the miracle-maker, which solves all difficulties in practical life, and all that in a society divided into classes and with diametrically opposed interests! This deprives his philosophy of even the last vestiges of its revolutionary character, and all that remains is the old song: Love one-another, throw yourselves into each-other arms regardless of sex and status. A universal conciliatory intoxication!" (Ibid., p 298).

Therefore, Engels points out, the powerful impetus which Feuerbach gave to the intellectual movement remained fruitless in his own case, for he failed to see the way leading from the kingdom of abstractions to the real harsh world of actual social relations. Nature, man and society appear as abstractions in Feuerbach. He fails to realize that unity between man and nature exists and takes place not by itself but through labor. Feuerbach considers the being, the essence of man something permanent, given once and for all, and so is society. Unquestionably, this is the result of his bourgeois limitations.

In summing up his critical analysis of Feuerbach's philosophy, Engels concludes the following: "Nevertheless, the step which Feuerbach failed to take had to be taken. The cult of abstract man, this nucleus of Feuerbach's new religion, had to be replaced with the science of real people and of their historical development" (ibid., p 299). The revolutionary coup made by Marx and Engels in philosophy and the theory of society in general was the answer to the questions which Feuerbach and other predecessors of Marxism had posed and tried to solve. This confirmation of the greatest cultural significance of scientific socialist ideology cannot, naturally, be acknowledged by its ideological opponents. Understandably, therefore, they frequently pit historical materialism against Feuerbach's anthropological philosophy.

G. Rohrmoser, the West German neoconservative theoretician, claims that a "Feuerbach renaissance" is one of the characteristic features of the present age. He claims that Feuerbach's call for looking at and attaining the truth,

taken as human nature, and conceiving of man as a natural being which can become aware of his humanity only within a natural environment is highly consistent with the present age disappointed by industrialization. "The fact that Marx said about Feuerbach that in him history exists outside nature and nature outside history is a clear manifestation of the pathological condition of the situation today..." (G. Rohrmoser, "Die metaphysische Situation der Zeit" [The Metaphysical Condition of Our Time], Stuttgart, 1975, p 89). From this viewpoint Feuerbach was absolutely right by separating history from nature. Feuerbach, Rohrmoser claims, anticipated the cataclysm of contemporary scientific and technical progress, ecological disfunctions and other among its negative consequences. Correspondingly, the neoconservative ideologue tries to prove that the Marxist critique of Feuerbach's anthropology is rejected by life.

G. Rohrmoser also praises Feuerbach's theory of religion, which he takes as theological despite the rejection of the existence of a supernatural and superhuman being. "The transformation of theology into anthropology contains the thesis that in his attitude toward religion man is actually dealing with himself only. This thought, expressed by Feuerbach was of epochal significance... There is only people with their attitude toward nature and toward other people" (ibid., p 93). From Rohrmoser's viewpoint, such concepts have nothing in common with atheism. They merely prove that god exists within man and humanity, that he is inseparable from human existence the essence of which is divine. The essence of the latest theological trends in Christianity lead precisely to the same point, Rohrmoser claims. They assert that god is everywhere, that the supernatural exists within nature and man. It is thus that the shortcomings in Feuerbach's critique of religion and theology is converted into a fictitious quality. In Rohrmoser's writings, the inconsistent atheism of the German materialist becomes a new theological principle which helps to revive religious awareness and to surmount the crisis experienced by Christianity.

Pitting Feuerbachianism against Marxism is not typical of philosophizing neoconservatism alone. The Frankfurt School of Social Research, which operates under the banner of "Neo-Marxism," is also trying to revive Feuerbach's philosophical anthropology. It considers anthropologism the antithesis of the "industrial society" which, allegedly, suppresses and emasculates the sensory nature of man. A. Schmidt, the notorious representative of the Frankfurt school claims in his book "Emancipating Sensuality. Ludwig Feuerbach's Anthropological Materialism," that the alienation of man in capitalist society can be eliminated above all by freeing sensuality.

Ignoring the historical process of the shaping of Marxism in the course of which, naturally, Marx could not instantly become the founder of dialectical materialism, Schmidt reinterprets (or, simply speaking, distorts) Marxism in a Feuerbachian spirit. From this anti-Marxist viewpoint, the socialist revolution should be mainly and above all an anthropological revolution, the total elimination of all restrictions imposed on man's sensory inclinations. According to Schmidt, Marxism must be a "militant anthropology opposed to capitalist business.

Therefore, the questions raised by Engels in his noteworthy book are just as relevant today. The main philosophical problem which contemporary bourgeois philosophers proclaim obsolete retains its significance as an alternative formulated with a feeling of the greatest possible principle-mindedness. The problems of dialectics and of the sensible reorganization of social relations are even more relevant today than they were a century ago. And the questions raised by Feuerbach but solved only by Marxism remain in the focal point of the ideological and conceptual struggle of the present.

Engels ended his book with the most important indication of the unity between party- and scientific-mindedness in Marxist theory. Whereas in bourgeois philosophy, as a result of the conversion of the bourgeoisie into a reactionary class, "the old spirit of unrestrainable theoretical search has totally vanished," in the science created by Marxism the interests of truth and of the revolutionary working class essentially coincide. "The more daringly and firmly science operates, the more consistent it becomes with the interests and aspirations of the workers" (K. Marx and F. Engels, op. cit., vol 21, pp 316-317). This truth, confirmed by the historical experience of our age, inspires all fighters against the social injustice created by capitalism and for the just communist cause.

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## BOOK REVIEWS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

### SOCIOLOGIST'S GUIDELINES: NOTES ON THE STUDY OF PROBLEMS OF SOVIET YOUTH IN THE 1980S

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 8, May 86 (signed to press 21 May 86) pp 119-125

[Review by Professor F. Filippov, doctor of philosophical sciences, of the following books: "Molodoy Rabochiy" [The Young Worker] (Shaping Value Orientations), by V.G. Alekseyeva. Mysl, Moscow, 1983; "Na Poroge Grazhdanskoy Zrelosti" [On the Threshold of Civic Maturity] by S.N. Ikonnikova and V.T. Lisovskiy. Lenizdat, Leningrad, 1982; "Rozhdeniye Spetsialista" [Birth of the Specialist] by A.B. Kaganov. BGU, Minsk, 1983; "Sotsialnyye Problemy Formirovaniya Spetsialista v VUZe" [Social Problems of VUZ Specialist Training] by E.N. Kamyshev. TGU, Tomsk, 1984; "Molodoy Chelovek: Stanovleniye Obraza Zhizni" [The Young Person: Establishing a Way of Life] by A.A. Kozlov and A.V. Lisovskiy. Politizdat, Moscow, 1986; "Vkluyeniye Molodezhi v Sotsialnuyu Strukturu" [Youth Inclusion in the Social Structure] by A.A. Magulenis. Mintis, Vilnyus, 1983; "Sotsialnyye Problemy Podgotovki Molodezhi k Trudu" [Social Problems of Youth Labor Training] by E.N. Fetisov. Mysl, Moscow, 1984; "Formirovaniye Trudovoykh Oriyentatsiy Molodezhi" [Shaping Youth Labor Orientation] by V.L. Ossovskiy. Naukova Dumka, Kiev, 1985; "Sotsialno-Klassovaya Preyemstvennost i Vospitaniye Molodykh Rabochikh" [Socioclass Continuity and Upbringing of Young Workers] by B.S. Pavlov. Nauka, Moscow, 1984; "Sovetskoye Studenchestvo" [The Soviet Student Body] by L.Ya. Rubina. Mysl, Moscow, 1981; "Sotsialnaya Aktivnost Spetsialista: Istoki i Mekhanizm Formirovaniya (Sotsiologicheskiy Analiz)" [The Social Activeness of the Specialist: Sources and Mechanism of Shaping (Sociological Analysis)]. Vishcha Shkola, Kharkov, 1983; "Sotsialno-Professionalnaya Oriyentatsiya Molodezhi" [The Socioprofessional Orientation of Youth] by M.Kh. Titma. Eesti Raamat, Tallin, 1982; "Molodoye Pokoleniye" [The Young Generation] by M.Kh. Titma and E.A. Saar. Mysl, Moscow, 1986; "Molodezh Vstupayet v Zhizn" [Youth Enters Life] by G.A. Cherednichenko and V.N. Shubkin. Mysl, Moscow, 1985]

[Text] Our time is one of social maturing of Soviet youth, who must implement the programmatic stipulations of the 27th CPSU Congress and make profound qualitative changes in all realms of our social life. We are looking ever more closely into the social and spiritual aspect of this population, for it holds in its hands the future of the country which has entered the stage of its accelerated development. The new draft of the party program particularly

emphasizes the role of young people in the historical project of comprehensive advancement of socialist society and defines the organizational and ideological and educational tasks of the Leninist Komsomol in mobilizing the creative efforts of young people in attaining the great objectives of our society. The party continually addresses itself to the minds and hearts of young people, encouraging the growth of their labor and sociopolitical activeness and shaping the Marxist-Leninist outlook of boys and girls and their political and moral standards. The future of our country is determined by the type of young people we raise today. "...It is the duty of the senior generations," the CPSU Central Committee political report to the 27th Congress states, "to do everything possible for the new generation to be even more intelligent, capable and educated and suitably carry into the future the ideals of justice and freedom bequeathed by the Great October."

Today more than ever before we feel the need to interpret that which has been accomplished in our country in recent years to ensure the scientific study of and changes in the social problems of young people. Particularly interesting are studies and conclusions of scientists through whose efforts youth sociology is developing. The Leninist principles of party-mindedness and a scientific approach call for boldly identifying existing contradictions and earmarking ways to solve them. This fully applies to the study of youth problems. To what extent are works published in the 1980s and summary results of sociological studies meet such requirements?

Which youth problems are of main interest to the scientists? What guidelines are being used in the interpretation of resulting data? What can sociological science offer for practical use? These are the difficult questions which arise in the study of such works. Obviously, one can and must consider the educational effect of a sociological study itself and of the publication of its results. It is thanks to such studies that young people and their Komsomol leaders have the possibility of seeing scientifically that which is occasionally lost in the stream of daily concerns and ordinary awareness. Youth sociology performs in this sense the responsible function of promoting truth and influencing the political and moral consciousness of young people through the power of objective truth.

Above all, let us draw attention precisely to the extent to which the guidelines of the researcher can assist (or hinder) the enhancement of the efficiency of a sociological study of a youth environment and the role and possibilities of the young generation in the acceleration of socioeconomic progress. It is important to understand the extent to which such guidelines are contributing to the careful approach to the training and use of cadres, upgrading the efficiency of their work in all sectors of economic and cultural construction, the growth of youth social activeness and the shaping and strengthening of its communist moral consciousness and ability to oppose all ideological subversions by the enemies of peace and socialism.

The main ideological guideline of the research sociologist is communist party-mindedness, which combines true scientific objectivity with a systematic defense of the basic interests of the working people and their leading force--the working class. Profoundly alien to Marxist-Leninist sociology are the

notorious "objectivism," "noninvolvement," "deideologization" and other variants of a false "nonparty-mindedness."

The principled view held by the Soviet sociologist is manifested above all in the topics of his studies and his choice of the most relevant and vital problems and targets of scientific knowledge. As the books under review show, the most important social problems of youth and of their largest detachments were considered by sociologists during the first half of the 1980s. This applies above all to the trends in shaping the young reinforcements of the working class, kolkhoz peasantry and intelligentsia, their socioprofessional and value orientations and labor and social activeness. Something else, however, can be easily noted as well: there are still many more studies of higher school students and young specialists than of working youth and young kolkhoz members. There are virtually no studies made of students in vocational-technical and secondary specialized schools, who account for a substantial share of the new generations, particularly under the conditions of the initiated reform of general education and vocational schools, which calls for a gradual transition to universal vocational youth training. Incidentally, to this day virtually no scientific publications have come out on the social aspects of the reform. Nor are there sociological studies of young employees.

How to explain such "selectiveness" in the approach to youth social problems? We believe this to be due to several reasons.

One of them is the accessibility of the student body as a research topic, particularly in the case of social science departments in VUZs, many of which have their own sociological laboratories. Naturally, a close study of the problems of student youth and of the development of future specialists is necessary, the more so since it is "through" them that broader social processes frequently become apparent. However, the "convenience" of the target cannot be the decisive reason for the choice of scientific topics. As to other groups of student youth, for the time being their respective departments have no sociological subunits: no such facilities exist at the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences or within State Vocational Education.

Other reasons as well exist, related to meaningful aspects of youth sociology. They include, in particular, a certain looseness, a vagueness pertaining to the concept of "youth," which is the starting point of all studies. It may seem that a unanimous opinion should have long been reached on this subject. However, some authors, who openly acknowledge the lack of unanimity on the question of the age limits of youth, also assume that the social development of young people in our society essentially ends with the 22-26 age group (B. Pavlov). Others prefer to "extend" this period to the age of 30 (S. Ikonnikova and V. Lisovskiy and V. Novikov and E. Fetisov). M. Titma notes the increased duration of youth job training, inevitable under contemporary conditions (we believe this to be the crux of the matter) and a respective extension of its "upper" age limit. The problem of the age limit of youth has been repeatedly discussed in scientific publications and it is hardly necessary to repeat the story and all the aspects of previous discussions. However, we would like to discuss in somewhat greater detail one of the considerations directly related to the subject of these notes.

This refers to the moral aspect of views on the age limit of youth and the definition of youth as a large social group. According to Marxist methodology the essence of the person is a sum total of social relations (see K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 3, p 3), which makes it necessary to concentrate on the specific historical content of the concept of "youth." In turn, this means that it should be a question of specific social types of young people and the age limits applicable to them. Should we not consider that by arbitrarily "raising" the age limit of youth to 30 (and sometimes even higher) we thus (and thus only) we consciously or subconsciously legitimize an immoderate long supervision of "young people with gray hair," restricting their autonomy in responsible decision-making and watching over the various manifestations of infantilism and dependency on the part of the "young" themselves and their excessively loving parents and tutors. For example, S. Ikonnikova and V. Lisovskiy write with understandable concern about the concept of some young people concerning their "future activeness:" "put us in a difficult situation," some young people say, "and we shall display our better side. Meanwhile, we are "young and green," and who has not made errors in his youth..." (p 162). Naturally, a certain tolerance should be shown toward youth. We must also take into consideration the increased complexity and length of the process of social and professional maturing of young men and women. However, to approach a 25-30-year old worker or kolkhoz member with a high educational standing and skill, in most cases married and with children, who has served in the armed forces, as a "youngster," is obvious stupidity which occasionally turns out to be quite costly morally and otherwise.

This "inverse effect" of sociology, which has still not been able to define with sufficient precision the object and subject of its studies, does not contribute to developing in the young people high discipline, social responsibility, activeness and independent thinking. Thus, abstract academic disputes occasionally yield undesirable practical results. Let us bear in mind that the reform of general education and vocational schools calls for the extensive involvement of student youth (based on its age characteristics) with direct productive labor and lowering the age at which young people are allowed to perform some types of work. We believe that the time has come to approach sociological research as well youth problems in accordance with these new factual circumstances, which do not allow us to prolong indefinitely the period of "childhood" and "adolescence."

The direct and increasingly early involvement of young people in the labor life of the people and the system of socialist social relations require the close attention of sociologists to the real contradictions in our life with which young men and women inevitably clash, and the reflection of such contradictions in their consciousness and behavior. This is justifiably pointed out by G. Cherednichenko and V. Shubkin, V. Alekseyeva and other authors. It is precisely sociological studies, they emphasize, that provide a sufficiently specific picture of the moral aspect of young people, developing under the conditions marked by such contradictions, resolved through methods specific to the nature of socialism.

The sociologist must be morally guided not only not to suppress the conflicting nature in the development of our society and the dialectics of the social maturing of young people but to help them, as they begin their

independent labor career, to understand the meaning of actual existing contradictions and to define their position in the struggle waged by what is new and progressive against what is obsolete and hinders the further advancement of our society. As we know, pitting one generation against another is profoundly alien to our party, which firmly opposes the notorious concept of "generation conflict." In his Leningrad speech, M.S. Gorbachev put this well: "It is sometimes said that there are few young people and that the way must be opened to the young. It is true, we must open the way to leading positions to young people and women. Above all, however, we must skillfully combine within our cadre corps experienced young cadres. This is the most reliable safeguard against inertia, stagnation, adventurism and voluntarism." This formulation of the matter is in our party's traditions. However, it faces sociological researchers with the largely new task of determining the processes of young people's entry into the social structure of social society and the sectorial service hierarchy, which are the ways leading to the social and professional growth and promotion of young cadres to more complex and responsible types of work and what are the value and moral criteria which guide them in this matter.

Many of the surveyed authors answer such questions in detail in their books: B. Pavlov makes a profound study of the problem of continuity of links among generations; M. Titma and E. Saar describe comprehensively the situation with the choice of profession; the processes of the social development of young people are extensively described by A. Kozlov, A.V. Lisovskiy, A. Magulenis and others. As we know, the formulation and implementation of the plans of young people and their social, professional and value orientations have been studied quite actively by sociologists over the past two decades. However, in recent years reality has introduced many new features in what seemed to have become a stable concept of life. Increasingly, the choice or change of profession and intersectorial and interregional cadre transfers and the instability of many labor collectives are turning into important economic, social and moral problems. It is on this basis that we could assess the comprehensive and disparate sociological information on the feelings of young people and their life-plans and orientations.

However, even the few works reviewed here frequently provide dispassionate descriptions which, unfortunately, are considered by some sociologists indications of "good taste," while publicism, in the best meaning of the term, is taken as a certain abandonment of "scientific standards." Naturally, it is true that provability of sociological research is ensured not by firm statements but by convincing scientific arguments. However, in problems which affect the vital interests of our people there should be no place for deliberate "academism" and abandonment of an openly proclaimed civic stance by the scientists.

Let us cite one example: In sociological research we frequently come across the concept of "satisfaction with the job." The lack of such satisfaction, caused by the noncoincidence between the desired and the actual profession and between the desired and actual job is most frequently considered a negative phenomenon. Let us, however, consider the following: first, a job which does not provide a stable feeling of satisfaction to a given individual may, nevertheless, be still needed by society for the sake of its normal



functioning and development. Should we not in this case seek (through sociological methods!) the type of social factors which, to a certain extent, could alleviate the depressing feeling of dissatisfaction with the job (naturally, we are not speaking of hard and obsolete types of labor) and, at the same time, develop in the person a feeling of pride in his labor and its importance to the development of our society. Second, dissatisfaction with labor may be caused not by the labor process as such but by its poor organization or material and technical support, violations of the socialist principle of payment according to labor and other similar reasons.

In this case, dissatisfaction is a feeling profoundly consistent with our moral standards and its should not be eliminated but, conversely, stimulated and supported. This is a noble dissatisfaction with the situation at one's job and with the results of one's own labor, which could be better. This is a truly patriotic, a healthy feeling. However, it is precisely this feature which is most frequently ignored. It is only in B. Pavlov's book that we find statements we consider accurate, such as "dissatisfaction with one's labor under certain conditions is a motivation for active creative work by man to improve the efficiency of his production environment" (pp 175-176).

A third aspect exists as well. Dissatisfaction with labor frequently motivates the person to engage in active self-improvement and to improve his educational standard and skill, mobilizing his internal creative powers for the purpose of upgrading labor productivity and undertaking more responsible and difficult work. Naturally, it is more difficult to provide a moral assessment to such manifestations of "dissatisfaction" than simply to note their existence. This is exceptionally important also from the viewpoint of the ideological and educational effect which works of youth sociology have.

As a whole, the books under review accurately emphasize the moral prestige of labor in socialist society. It is precisely labor for the common good that is the main moral value in our social system. As the studies indicate, the young people master and actualize it profoundly. Thus, in this connection V. Ossovskiy emphasizes the particular relevance of shaping in young people an attitude toward labor as an area of social self-assertion and prestige, a source of material well-being and a prime vital need.

Sociology must identify within the social and professional orientations of young people the reasons which make the attitude toward labor a matter of honor, valor and patriotic and international responsibility, rather than simply the attractiveness of a specific labor process. Unfortunately, although obtaining increasingly reliable empirical results in their study of the prestige and attractiveness of professions, some authors neglect the moral meaning of labor in socialist society. Naturally, we cannot agree with the demagogical appeals to sociologists to abandon all comparisons between professional prestige and social stance, under the pretext that in our society all work should be considered equally honorable and "prestigious." As we know, in real life there is no work "in general." There are specific professions and skills, there is a technological and social division of labor and there is a hierarchy of types of labor, both as viewed by public opinion and as they objectively exist. A vital contradiction is obvious: young people who, in principle, are given equal training (full secondary) must then

be assigned to jobs in the interest of society (and, therefore, in the final account, in the interest of the young people themselves) among objectively unequal types of labor, distinct in terms of nature, meaning, conditions, wages and, not least, prestige. The rise and decline of the prestige of a given profession painfully affects the functioning of the entire social organism. Suffice it to recall in this connection the substantiated concern with the lowered prestige of engineering, expressed at the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum.

Therefore, we must study the dynamics of the prestige of professions. Obviously, we must study it not as a separate phenomenon but as a reflection of the actually existing production-technical and social organization of labor and trends in its changes. The trouble, however, is that this is by no means always done. Hypnotized by the abundance of quantitative data and the variety (and, let us admit, the sometimes high perfection) of mathematical methods used in processing the data, authors of sociological works on young people frequently do not bother to find the true social origins of the phenomena they have discovered, which blocks them from making broad scientific summations. This is a clear indication of the underestimating of theoretical analysis and of a one-sided attraction to the empirical side of research.

V. Alekseyeva is right in believing that today we need an essentially new interpretation of the very concept of "training the young replacements of the working class:" this must be considered in the broad context of scientific and technical, socioeconomic, sociopolitical and ideological processes taking place within Soviet society and projected into the future. L. Rubina opposes the underestimating of the social heterogeneity of labor performed by the various strata and detachments of the intelligentsia, which, in her opinion, lowers the efficiency of the management of the social structure of Soviet society and the efficient assignment of VUZ graduates among the individual cells within this structure. V. Ossovskiy emphasizes the importance of the study of the unity and interconnection among the social and vocational orientation of young people. M. Titma notes the importance of developing in the young long-term rather than merely situational orientations. Most of the books under review analyze the changes occurring in the moral assessments governing the choice of a profession in connection with changes in social relations, including some negative phenomena. M. Titma and E. Saar analyze in detail social shifts in young people and their impact on the social structure of Soviet society and on the sectorial and professional structure of employment of young workers.

Nevertheless, we still rarely come across a study which can totally unravel the reasons for the occasionally unpredictable fluctuations in the prestige enjoyed by some types of work. Thus, even sociologists who, 20 years ago, had predicted that the stress of competition for VUZ enrollment would increase significantly, are noting today a reduced orientation of school graduates toward higher education. On the one hand, this creates prerequisites for the better proportional distribution of young people by economic sector and "cell" within the social structure; on the other, however, it worsens the process of choosing among secondary school graduates and the related quality of specialists' training. What must be done to solve this problem, which is new to our society? We find in B. Pavlov's book an attempt to answer the

question: the author suggests a set of steps to shape in the young prestige for professions reflecting the real needs of the country. He singles out three blocks of factors which determine the social prestige of professions and their attractiveness to young people: the objective content, nature and conditions of labor; vocational training, material and moral incentive, organization of labor and production, social conditions and prospects for the development of creative capabilities in the young worker; finally, the block of reasons governing value orientation. For each one of them the author suggests areas and forms of social and family upbringing of young people which could contribute to the development of suitable social interests in guiding young people as they begin their labor career (see pp 113-138).

As noted by many authors, the inertia of public opinion in assessing professional and social "positions" is more sharply manifested in members of the senior generation--the parents--than in the young themselves. The "pressure" of parental authority frequently proves significantly greater than the influence of the school. The further strengthening of the family and, respectively, the unity of views between "parents and children" on the values of education, profession and labor are inevitably related to the need to revise some lasting parental views. This offers a broad field for further scientific studies and the formulation of recommendations for practical economic-organizational and ideological work.

In our view, the study of assessments on the prestige of a profession and of the factors which shape the prestige of a labor collective are insufficiently studied. Yet the latter is playing an increasing role in the moral consciousness of Soviet society. Let us ask ourselves the following question: Could a collective with low labor discipline, with drunken bouts (despite the steps taken by the party and the government), and where rushing and production of substandard goods take place be attractive to young people? Could we consider today worthy of respect a collective whose members have no respect for themselves and their work? Yet the study of the evaluations of the prestige enjoyed by labor collectives is not even included in the programs for sociological research in the majority of cases, for which reason, naturally, it does not show up in their results. Let us be honest: here it is by no means merely a question of the limited approach taken by sociologists to such problems. G. Cherednichenko and V. Shubkin openly describe difficulties related to conducting sociological studies and obtaining necessary information from managers of enterprises and establishments. Other sociologists as well have voiced similar considerations. Departmentalism and parochialism--faults repeatedly subjected to principle-minded party criticism--are making themselves known (quite painfully sometimes) in this area as well. In many oblasts and republics coordination of sociological research and its supervision have been assumed by voluntary bodies under party committees. This has made it possible to reduce duplication, upgrade the scientific standard of surveys and introduce other useful changes in the conduct of such studies. However, a negative side has appeared as well: some public councils and party obkoms and gorkoms sponsoring them are afraid to engage in studies exceeding local or departmental interests. Sociologists, even those working in central scientific institutions, must frequently show great persistence before obtaining access to research targets and being able to complete their work. The result is that the sociologist needs truly party-based guidelines

not only in selecting a topic and problems of research, as we pointed out, and not only in interpreting data but also in daily basic scientific organizational activities.

All of this is true. Nevertheless, we cannot consider normal the substantial gap in the study of the sources of social and professional guidance of young people, ignoring its most important aspect: the moral prestige of labor collectives and, beyond them, of many economic sectors. The new edition of the CPSU program stipulates that "the party comprehensively contributes to developing each labor collective into an efficient social cell of socialist self-government by the people.... It considers necessary the purposeful intensification of the influence of labor collectives on all realms of social life and the broadening of their rights and enhanced responsibility for solving specific problems of economic, social and cultural development." The increased role of labor collectives urgently demands of the sociologists to pay greater attention to their influence on the guidance and career plans of young people.

The need to accelerate the economic and social development of our society raises with increased urgency the task of upgrading the role of moral incentives for the labor activities of the people. In the case of young specialists, this problem was studied by Kharkov sociologists, headed by Ye. Yakuba, Minsk scientist A. Kaganov and Tomsk scientist E. Kamyshev. These authors have applied strict ideological and moral yardsticks in the study of the complex process of development of the specialist and the shaping and development of his creative activeness.

The study of the value orientations of young specialists has led the group of Kharkov researchers and authors of the book "Sotsialnaya Aktivnost Spetsialista..." to the conclusion that "...the internal motivation for creative activeness on the part of young specialists is based to the greatest extent above all on factors such as the meaningfulness and social significance of professional activity and its consistency with the professional interests of the young specialists and the possibility of personal development" (p 51). The same interconnection is followed in the book by E. Kamyshev. Consequently, we can say that the shaping and self-realization of the creative activeness of young engineers, scientists, physicians, educators, agronomists and economists--our entire young intelligentsia--is based, above all, on the close unity of high-level professionalism in the area of theoretical knowledge and practical skills and the harmonious development of other sides of the personality. Obviously, we can consider as obsolete scholastic arguments on whether or not professionalism hinders the all-round development of the individual (although echoes of such arguments are still found on the pages of some scientific publications). Life and practical experience have confirmed that professional knowledge, skill and habits, and high-level competence in one's own area of work are objectively necessary qualities of any contemporary production worker.

This provides even fewer reasons for attempts to separate professional specialization from some kind of abstract-humanistic function of education, postponing their merger for the distant future. Actually, the socialist social relations system contains as of now the growing opportunity (which,

actually, is by no means always used) of practically combining high-level professionalism with the harmonious all-round development of the individual. Yet, the books by L. Rubina, M. Titma and some other authors deliberately draw a line separating production-economic from social and humanistic functions of education (higher education in particular). We believe that it would have been more accurate to look closely at the way in which through professionalism on its highest level the educational system could and should ensure the true well-rounded nature of the individual, and the way professional work under socialist conditions offers the necessary base for such comprehensiveness, as well as the way the vocational training of young people must be combined with a humanistic moral orientation in youth upbringing.

Some sociologists (V. Alekseyeva and others) are greatly concerned by the gap between the verbal expression of the moral orientations of young people and their actual behavior. In this case we note a quite serious flaw in the moral standards of the individual. According to the Kharkov sociologists, whose book we mentioned, no more than one-third of the young specialists they surveyed implement their moral concepts in scientific and technical creativity, constant professional searching, etc. V. Alekseyeva singles out several typological groups of young workers classified by the degree to which they have realized their value concepts through practical labor and social activities. The Kharkov authors' attention is particularly drawn to the gap between the orientation of young people toward participating in the management of production and public affairs and their actual participation in the managerial and sociopolitical work in the labor collective. All of these are important and instructive factual data. However, should we not continue our study in this area and be interested in the reason for the disparity between the thirst for social activeness in words and its low practical level? Should we blame the young people for this situation or else are we still not always able to make proper use of their intellectual and labor potential? Obviously, the formulation of such problems, which are by no means strictly ethical but which also have a broad political meaning, is entirely timely. Sociologists (not only the authors of the books under review) are greatly concerned with a "restructuring" in the consciousness and behavior of young people after school and at the beginning of their independent labor careers. In particular, interest in spiritual culture drastically declines (even in its consumption, not to mention participation in the reproduction and transmittal of cultural values); priority is given to job problems and concern for the family. To a certain extent, this is explainable and natural. However, does this not result in the fact that the true spiritual growth of the person comes to an end with graduation? Is this not one of the reasons for the manifestations of "lack of spirituality" which is repeatedly mentioned in many contemporary works on literature and the arts? Here as well, however, the authors of the sociological works do not go beyond a general statement of the fact. They fail to see behind it any serious social problem directly related to the long-term social development of our society. Leningrad authors A. Kozlov and A. Lisovskiy write with justified concern about informal youth associations in which the feeling of participation ("we") and common views and actions overlap the social and ideological purpose of youth "associations" (pp 110-111). We believe, however, that not only the psychological but also the social roots of the phenomenon under consideration should have been identified more extensively.

At this point we must also mention the role assigned in the books under consideration to the theory and practice of the struggle against negative phenomena in youth circles. It is no secret that insufficient ideological maturity and firmness in some young people create grounds for the penetration of views and behavioral models alien to socialism, egotistical morality, aspiration for "total permissiveness" in relations between sexes, recurrences of "Oblomovism" and other negative phenomena. A certain gap between words and actions, the hypocritical behavior of some managers, their lack of sincerity toward the party and the people, formalism and ostentatiousness, and efforts at open fraud and whitewashing in "victorious" reports and accounts, all that against which the party is waging today a decisive and aggressive struggle, have a painful impact on the spiritual image of the young people. The course of this struggle and its noble objectives are becoming today an increasingly powerful factor in shaping the ideological maturity of young people and strengthening their deep trust in Lenin's party. Yet, the authors of the books under review either ignore such problems or mention them incidentally, limiting themselves to noting individual facts (which, actually, are quite eloquent). In citing such examples, S. Ikonnikova, V. Lisovskiy, V. Alekseyeva and others make a certain effort to analyze them. Today, however, obviously it must be a question of something more, of the comprehensive study of the reasons for and means of eliminating negative phenomena and trends among young people. Can this be ignored? Should we not demand of sociology an entirely specific and practical approach to the study of the conditions which ensure the physical, mental and moral health of the young? Obviously, it is time to surmount also the feeling of reinsurance shown by some publishing houses, which frequently avoid the publication of scientific works on such crucial topics.

Striking though it may seem, elements of scientific polemics are almost totally absent in the books under review. If other authors are quoted, as a rule this is done in a sympathetic manner, with various compliments. Unfortunately, we have somewhat "lost the habit" of engaging in serious principled debates in scientific publications, including in the social sciences. The need for the development and advancement of the science of sociology (understandably, not only in the area of the study of youth problems) increasingly requires not only criticism but also self-critical assessments by authors of their previous publications. In this case one must be totally honest to oneself and the readers in analyzing reasons for past shortcomings in research, unsuitable recommendations and wrong forecasts. A science can advance not only thanks to the discovery and confirmation of new truths but also through critical revisions of past achievements. However, we would vainly look in the books under review for examples of this kind, although their authors are by no means novices in sociology and some of their current statements occasionally clash with previous ones.

Suppressed criticism, the lack of a self-critical approach could be explained by citing objective and subjective reasons. However, does all of this benefit science and practice? Fundamental scientific debates, without "labeling," on the common theoretical foundations of Marxism-Leninism, are one of the necessary means in seeking the truth and increasing the practical results of studies.

Our society has entered a period of profound quality changes. The ideological and moral health of the young generation is a major prerequisite for its future accomplishments in building communism. That is why profound party-oriented guidelines in sociology are today assuming increasing significance. The sober assessment of achievements in recent years and a self-critical study of research from the position of today's party requirements are guarantees for the further successful development of Marxist-Leninist youth sociology.

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#### SHORT BOOK REVIEWS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 8, May 86 (signed to press 21 May 86) p 126

[Text] "Kommunisty v Avangarde Borby za Yedinyy Rabochiy i Narodnyy Front, 1934-1939" [Communists in the Vanguard of the Struggle for a United Worker and Popular Front, 1934-1939]. I.N. Undasynov responsible editor. Nauka, Moscow, 1985, 300 pages. Reviewed by Yu. Molchanov.

The 7th Comintern Congress, the 50th anniversary of which was widely noted last year, was an outstanding chapter in Comintern history. The profound assessments, daring conclusions and creative decisions made at this international forum provided a new strategic and tactical orientation to the communist parties, preparing them ideologically and politically for the struggle against fascism and for the further advancement of the cause of socialism and peace. However, the legacy of the 7th Congress belongs not only to history. Many of its ideas successfully withstood the test of time and remain valuable and topical to this day.

As mentioned in its preface, the authors of this new book set themselves the following objectives: "First, to indicate the complex process of interaction between communist parties and the labor movement in capitalist countries in the 1930s and the fruitfulness of the thesis formulated by the Comintern and the communist parties of the working class as the most consistent and decisive fighter against fascism and the threat of war; second, to bring to light the contribution which communists in a number of countries and the Comintern as a whole made to the struggle for the unity of the working class and all antifascist and antiwar forces; third, to analyze the policy of the social democratic and socialist parties and other antifascist organizations; fourth, to identify the causes of successes and failures of the antifascist and antiwar movements during the period under consideration." In their analysis of such problems, the authors relied on a wide range of latest Soviet and foreign studies and, as a whole, were able successfully to deal with the difficult problems.

The new stipulations of the 7th Comintern Congress, were not, naturally, the result of abstract ivory-tower considerations. They were formulated through collective efforts in the course of a profound study of the changes in the political situation, the summation of the rich experience of the struggle



waged by the communists, the working class and all working people in different countries against the pressure of reaction and fascism and the growing threat of war, and in defense of their vital interests. These stipulations, therefore, were an blend of creative Marxist-Leninist thinking with the varied practical experience gained in the class struggle.

On the basis of extensive and specific historical data, the authors recreate a broad picture of the way in which understanding of the vital need to surmount the division within the labor movement, to unify it, and to rally all antifascist and democratic forces increased in Germany, Italy, Spain, France, Poland, Czechoslovakia and elsewhere, in the crucible of this struggle and in clashes against the fascist onslaught, and the way in which the first shoots of the policy of united worker and broad popular fronts appeared.

The creative discussions at the congress of topical problems of the struggle against fascism and the threat of war and the innovative nature of its decisions provided a powerful impetus to the development of active efforts by the communist parties in the organization of such a front. However, naturally, this turn in their strategy and tactics was neither simple nor easy. It required surmounting still extant narrow-sectarian views, a proper understanding of the interconnection between the general democratic and the socialist tasks of the struggle, and new approaches to the problem of cooperation with the social democrats and the other detachments of the working class. The monograph provides an integral idea of the way in which the new political line adopted by the 7th Comintern Congress was implemented step-by-step in the specific circumstances of the individual countries, the difficulties and problems encountered by the labor movement in the 1930s and the way the first bridges leading to reciprocal understanding and cooperation in the interest of rebuffing the fascist pressure were built across the gaps of alienation and, in some cases, the confrontation between communist and social democratic parties; the authors also consider the reasons for both successes and failures of the antifascist and antiwar movements of that time. Their experience is of great value today, when the interaction among all progressive, democratic and peace-loving forces in preventing a nuclear missile catastrophe and safeguarding peace and life itself on earth has become exceptionally relevant.

This new book is one more useful addition to the historiography of the Comintern. However, while noting its merits and urging the readers to read it, we should express some remarks and wishes to its authors. It is regrettable, above all, that it does not include an interpretation of the interesting experience of communists in Japan and in Latin American countries, Chile above all. They are only mentioned in the first chapter. We would also like to see in similar future publications that greater attention be paid to a comparative study of the activities of communist parties and to the development of the labor movement in the individual countries.

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## BOOKSHELF

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 8, May 86 (signed to press 21 May 86) p 127

[Text] 1. "V.I. Lenin o Literature i Iskusstve" [V.I. Lenin on Literature and the Arts]. Seventh edition. Khudozhestvennaya Literatura, Moscow, 1986, 576 pp.

2. "SSSR-GDR: Druzhba i Sotrudnichestvo" [USSR-GDR: Friendship and Cooperation]. Documents and materials on the participation of a CPSU delegation, headed by M.S. Gorbachev, in the proceedings of the 11th SED Congress, Berlin, 16-22 April 1986. Politizdat, Moscow, 1986, 47 pp with ill.

3. "Organizatsiya Varshavskogo Dogovora. 1955-1985" [The Warsaw Pact. 1955-1985]. Documents and materials. Editorial collegium: Maltsev, V.F. (responsible editor), Bodarenko, A.P., Golovenkov, G.S. et al. Politizdat, Moscow, 1986, 422 pp.

4. Baranovskiy, V.G. "Yevropeyskoye Soobshchestvo v Sisteme Mezhdunarodnykh Otnosheniy" [The European Community in the System of International Relations]. Nauka, Moscow, 1986, 320 pp.

5. "V.I. Vernadskiy i Sovremennost'" [V.I. Vernadskiy and Contemporaneity]. Nauka, Moscow, 1986, 226 pp.

6. Grachev, A.S. "Politicheskiy Ekstremizm" [Political Extremism]. Mysl, Moscow, 1986, 271 pp.

7. Gulyga, A.V. "Nemetskaya Klassicheskaya Filosofiya" [German Classical Philosophy]. Mysl, Moscow, 1986, 334 pp with ill.

8. "Istoriya Marksizma-Leninizma" [History of Marxism-Leninism]. Establishment, development and spreading of Marxism and its establishment in the labor movement between the 1840s and 1871. Chief editorial commission: A.G. Yegorov (chairman), M.P. Mchedlov (deputy chairman), S.S. Volk et al. Editorial collegium: V.Yu. Samedov (head), L.I. Golman, N.Yu. Kolpinskiy, et al. Politizdat, Moscow, 1986, 734 pp.

9. Kalinin, M.I. "Sovety Partiynomu Rabotniku" [Advice to the Party Worker]. On organizational and mass political work. Second edition. Politizdat, Moscow, 1986, 256 pp.

10. Kepetsi, B. "Neokonservativizm i 'Novvyye Pravyye'" [Neoconservatism and "The New Right"]. Translated from the Hungarian. Politizdat, Moscow, 1986, 144 pp.
11. Kolesnikov, S.V. and Usanov, V.I. "Spravedlivost Sotsializma" [The Justice of Socialism]. Sovetskaya Rossiya, Moscow, 1986, 176 pp.
12. Logvinova, T.G. "Nadezhda Konstantinovna Krupskaya." Mysl, Moscow, 1986, 96 pp.
13. Morekhina, G.G. "Partiynoye Stroitelstvo v Period Velikoy Otechestvennoy Voiny Sovetskogo Soyuz, 1941-1945" [Party Building During the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union, 1941-1945]. Politizdat, Moscow, 1986, 392 pp.
14. "Mekhanizm Formirovaniya Vneshney Politiki SShA" [The Mechanism of Shaping U.S. Foreign Policy]. G.A. Trofimenko and P.T. Podlesnyy responsible editors. Nauka, Moscow, 1986, 205 pp.
15. "Nemarkskistskiye Kontseptsii Sotsializma" [Nonmarxist Concepts of Socialism]. Editorial Collegium: Ye.S. Troitskiy (responsible editor), V.P. Agafonov, V.D. Granov et al. Mysl, Moscow, 1986, 328 pp.
16. Ross, E. "V Buryakh i Borbe" [In Storms and Struggle]. Pages from the history of the labor movement. Translated from the English. Politizdat, Moscow, 1986, 216 pp.
17. Rube, V.A. "Sotrudnichestvo ili Ekspluatatsiya? (Melkiy Bizness Glazami Burzhuaiznykh Ekonomistov)" [Cooperation or Exploitation? (Small Business Through the Eyes of Bourgeois Economists)]. Mysl, Moscow, 1986, 174 pp.
18. "Semya Ulyanovykh" [The Ulyanov Family]. Compiled by N.S. Gudkov. Second edition. Politizdat, Moscow, 1986, 512 pp with ill.
19. "Sila Leninskikh Idey" [The Power of Lenin's Ideas]. Problems of development of literature. N.M. Fed responsible editor. Nauka, Moscow, 1986, 263 pp.
20. "Sovremennyy Kapitalizm i Ideologicheskaya Borba" [Contemporary Capitalism and the Ideological Struggle]. Authors: A.M. Rumyantsev, V.D. Granov, V.V. Kortunov, et al. Mysl, Moscow, 1986, 271 pp.
21. "Sotsialnyye Sdviigi v Latinskoy Amerike" [Social Changes in Latin America]. Editorial collegium: B.M. Merin (responsible editor), Yu.I. Vizgunova and A.D. Galkina. Nauka, Moscow, 1986, 224 pp.

22. Khazanov, A.M. "Krusheniye Posledney Kolonialnoy Imperii" [The Collapse of the Last Colonial Empire]. Mysl, Moscow, 1986, 224 pp.

23. Khvoynik, P.I. "'Tikhaya' Agressiya Imperializma" [Imperialism's "Quiet" Aggression]. (Neocolonialist foreign economic policy.) Mysl, Moscow, 1986, 240 pp.

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CSO: 1802/14

AFTER PUBLICATION IN KOMMUNIST

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 8, May 86 (signed to press 21 May 86) p 128

[Report by V. Shipitsyn, first secretary, Kirenskiy CPSU Raykom, Irkutsk Oblast]

[Text] The report "They Did Not Consider..." which was published in KOMMUNIST (No 2, 1986) was discussed at a meeting of the rayon party committee buro. The shortcomings and omissions indicated indeed took place. A reprimand was issued to Ye. Doroshina, party organization secretary, for her poor management of the party organization and personal lack of discipline, manifested in the disinformation she supplied to the CPSU raykom.

The decree of the rayon party committee buro was discussed at a meeting of the primary party organization of the Kirenskiy Timber Farm, at which meeting specific steps were approved on upgrading the responsibility of the party members for bringing the necessary order in production and intensifying control over administrative activities.

Steps have now been taken to strengthen the management of the timber farm and the activities of the party organization have been energized. The trade union and Komsomol organizations were given practical aid. Steps are being taken to ensure the strict implementation of economic and financial enterprise indicators. The construction of a pig sty, a cow barn and a vegetable storage bin are planned with a view to ensuring the fuller satisfaction of the timber farm workers with food products this 5-year period. The construction of 25 duplexes and the urbanization of Yubileyny settlement will be carried out.

The article in the journal was also discussed at a meeting of the party members of the raykom apparatus. V. Kurbatov, department head, was sharply criticized for the weak links maintained between the department and the party organization of the timber farm. The attention of Instructor G. Gallyamova was drawn on cases of formalism in her work with the party organizations. Steps were taken to prevent any further recurrences of such facts, to improve the work style and methods of the party raykom apparatus and to strengthen practical aid to local party organizations.

An open-letter day was sponsored in Yubileyny to study public opinion and to solve production and social problems, at which senior personnel of the party raykom, the rayon executive committee, the agricultural trade union raykom, and the Komsomol raykom and managers of other rayon organizations participated. Specific measures were formulated based on the suggestions and critical remarks expressed by the working people, and control over their execution has been organized.

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